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**Worldwide Report**

**ARMS CONTROL**

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10 JULY 1986

# WORLDWIDE REPORT

## ARMS CONTROL

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### USSR'S KOKOSHIN REBUTS CLAIMS FOR SDI AS 'STABILIZING'

Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE in English No 4, Apr 86 pp 22-27

[Article by Andrei Kokoshin, Doctor of Sciences [History], "Nuclear Poker"]

#### [Text]

Those who stand for the build-up of a wide antimissile system, including its space-based first echelon, appeal to the psychological natural human desire to find at last defence against the all-annihilating power of thermonuclear arsenals accumulated on the planet. All looks well on schemes. Here is an enemy's missile equipped with a nuclear warhead. And there, say, an antimissile system. Launching—the missile is shot down. The enemy has been defeated and America saved.

Since the "space shield" makes an attempt of a nuclear attack at the USA senseless, then some day [when the shield is built], nuclear arsenals will die out naturally. Calmness, secured not by firesome political talks but by fantastic American technology, will descend on the much-suffered Earth.

Is that so?

The more detailed study of the "Strategic Defense Initiative" [SDI] provokes lots of questions even by an experienced reader. The first one: Is it really only a "shield" or is there a "sword" behind it? Look attentively at the scheme given here: it seems that SDI can serve as a convenient means for delivery the first strike. Its task—in a variant given here—includes the repulse of the weakened retaliatory strike. But the reader can imagine [and the Soviet leadership simply have to consider this as its duty] still more ominous variant—when lasers and other latest SDI components take a direct participation in the attack on ground targets.

Some more questions. How reliable is the planned space antimissile system? Will it be intelligent enough not to start a nuclear war having taken a harmless used missile stage for a warhead? Is it real, in general, under the present level of science and technology development? If yes, then when can it be achieved? If no, then what is all this fuss about billions of dollars?

In principle, of course, it is a matter for American taxpayers to decide whether to waste or not their dollars. But in the end, the problem concerns all earthmen because even if SDI is considered an unfeasible fantasy, it is already harmful by providing an impulse for the work on new generations of weapons, subordinating more strongly and irreversibly the progress in science and technology for war aims and sowing tension and instability in the world.

The editors asked Andrei KOKOSHIN, Doctor of Sciences [History], vice-chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace, Against Nuclear Threat, one of the authors of this Committee's report "Strike and Space Weapons and International Security", to make comments on some aspects of Strategic Defense Initiative.

Lately, the American publications on SDI make an emphasis on kinetic weapons. Why? Maybe because they can be used not only against missiles and satellites but also against ground objects with the purpose of delivering the first strike? It is this conclusion that comes to mind.

Our report, worked out with the participation of specialists in different branches of science, analyses weapons of fixed transfer of energy (laser, pencil) as components of space strike systems. In addition, it contains characteristics of different types of kinetic energy weapons — both conventional missiles and electromagnetic guns which use electromagnetic field created by a special accelerator for boosting the missile.

We have given a great attention to the analysis of special systems which secure the functioning of combat components. I speak about the system of detecting and identifying targets and combat control. It is here that the main scientific and technological difficulties have been concentrated for the creation of a wide-scale antimissile system. That's why, probably, SDI supporters are trying to speak less about security systems making stress on destruction means.

Having thoroughly studied this problem, the Committee of Soviet Scientists consider that any variant of the combat control system will be vulnerable and unstable. It must be provided by a whole number of characteristics and data: technical—about objects to be destroyed; general analysis of strategic situation—for taking decisions to actuate the antimissile system; a complex mathematical model of the situation estimated by the enemy; a model of taking military-political decisions by the enemy, and many other things.

Thus, the antimissile combat control must be (and the American side agrees with it) a grandiose expert system. In other words, it is necessary to create an artificial intellect which must be provided with special know-

ledge and estimate of military-political situation and the way of its possible development. The research of the given theme is still under development and its effectiveness is rather problematical.

Another important circumstance must be taken into account. The logic of such system will be construed, naturally, in accordance with the psychology and thinking of its creators—military figures and specialists in political, strategic, operational and technical problems, i.e., of people who, in the given case, have an interest in the deployment of weapons in space, and who represent the US military, acade-

mic and political elements having an extremely negative understanding of Soviet Union's intentions. They belong to those who in conflict situations prefer to use military power to political solutions.

A wide-scale antimissile system with space echelons will function in a self-contained mode. Decisions on its activation and use of weapons types will be taken by computers within seconds without participation of political or even military leadership. Such independent system, programmed according to American military-political stereotypes of thinking, can play a fatal role in a certain situation.

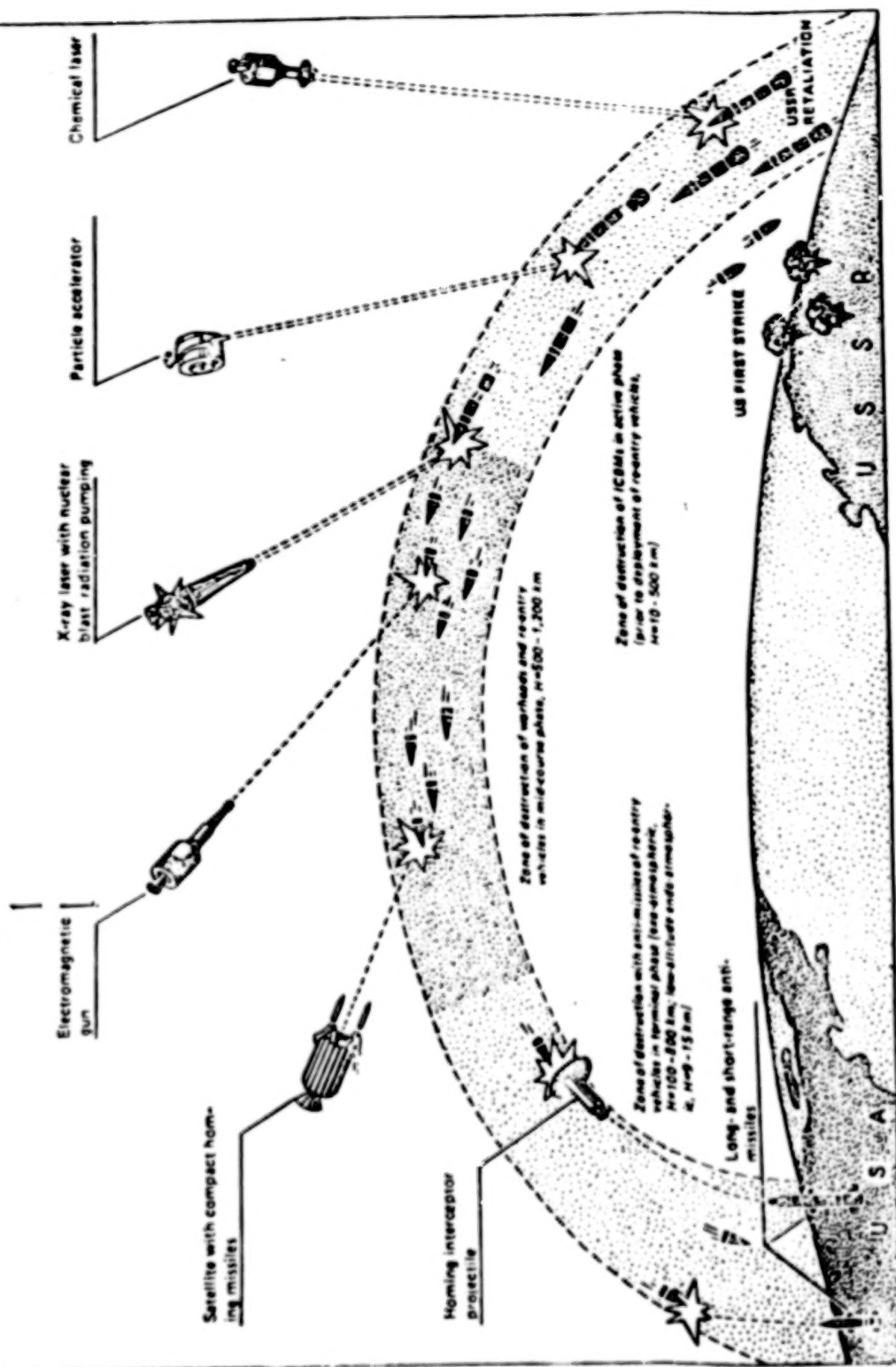
With all technical subtlety of the control system, it is impossible to guarantee that robots and computers will always act in conformity with the programme. The influence of surrounding medium (meteorite flow, powerful volcanic eruptions, etc.) can initiate uncontrollable actions of orbital combat stations. The other side will see it as the preparation of a strike. The recent Challenger catastrophe proved that the most perfect equipment can fail or output wrong data even after numerous checking and testing.

Now about counteracting the SDI system. Two main directions can be singled out. The first—creation of special systems for destructing and neutralizing space strike weapons, and the second—for developing strategic nuclear weapons for preserving the capability for a retaliatory strike.

There are a whole number of effective means, which can be used by any technically developed country, to deliver a retaliatory strike from under a "shield". In this case the cost of counteracting means is only several per cent of the cost for building a wide-scale antimissile system with the space-based elements. I'll list widely-known means which can "confuse" a cunning, superexpensive SDI system: imitation of missile launching (with the aid of infrared sensors); camouflaging real launchings with the help of smoke screen; missile multilayer reflecting coating for protection against lasers; launching false targets (for example, metal-coated rubber balls), etc. Active means include ballistic missile-interceptors having a high initial acceleration for destructing stations, space mines and powerful ground-based lasers, obstructing "clouds" (for example, metal fragments) on the flight trajectories of combat stations.

SDI supporters count on echelonization (multilayerness) of the antimissile system in space considering it impenetrable for enemy's missiles. As a proof they give the simplest calculations. But all of them are based on a

# Version of "Nation-wide" ABM System Now Being Developed by USA as Part of Nuclear First-Strike Capability



This drawing, taken from the pamphlet "STAR WARS". DELUSIONS AND DANGERS issued by Military Publishing House and Progress Publishers, shows a stage-by-stage operation of a wide-scale antimissile system envisaged by the "Strategic Defense Initiative".

The energy, released from the explosions of nuclear charges specially deployed in space, will be transferred by lasers into a powerful X-ray radiation. Specially focused and aimed at flying missiles, this radiation must destroy the bulk of the missiles within 2 to 5 min after the launching at altitudes of up to 500 km.

At the next stage, it is planned to knock out the survived missiles by particle accelerators [particle beam weapons] and electromagnetic guns positioned on space stations [platforms]. The principle of operation of a particle weapon [a small particle accelerator] is based on the capability of destroying space weapons by the flow of high-energy particles [neutrons and electrons] focused on them. An electromagnetic gun is a device used to accelerate special war charges by its electromagnetic field to great velocity [several dozens of km per second].

The survived missiles and warheads are to be destroyed on the flight trajectories by homing small-size missiles from satellites as well as by long-range and short-range ground-based missiles.

false admission on independent operations of the echelons (layers) and don't take into account the diversity of possible countermeasures. The illusiveness of such an approach is evident. Let's take, for example, the failure of only a single link—combat control. Since it is connected with all echelons, the counteraction to this link will put out of operation the whole system.

We see that an "antimissile shield" won't provide the impenetrability.

Apparently, the SDI designers themselves cannot already ignore enormous technical difficulties and huge spendings as well as potential retaliatory measures of the other side. Maybe because of this we see a certain transformation of the space defence idea. SDI of the kind, which was presented by President Reagan in his known speech on February 23, 1982, seems unattainable, and now the ambitious projects of the all-embracing, impenetrable antimissile system prote-

cting the territory of the USA and its allies, give way to the plans of an antimissile system of a limited effectiveness—zonal and objective.

Creation of such intermediate variants of an antimissile system is motivated, in particular, by the fact that it is necessary for the protection from "third countries", i.e., nations which can create their own nuclear weapons in near future. Some Western specialists think that these countries could blackmail even great powers. A thesis is forwarded that though the limited antimissile system cannot repulse the first powerful enough or retaliatory nuclear missile strike, nevertheless it could protect the USA against chance, unsanctioned launching of nuclear missile means. They draw conclusion from this that the antimissile system, even limited by its capabilities and scope, could make a "stabilizing effect" on military-political and military-strategic situation in the world.

But if one acts in accordance with a normal political, strategic, even a simple humane logic, then it will become clear that the strengthening of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, lowering the level of international tension everywhere, first of all in the regions where the countries—potential possessors of nuclear weapons—are situated, would be much more effective means for protecting states against nuclear blackmail, the more so against the use of nuclear weapons.

As for an argument about space protection against a chance attack, someone may think that it is attractive. But they deliberately ignore that such risk can be decreased by less complex and non-destabilizing measures. For example, by making more reliable the self-destructive devices in strategic delivery means: having independent guiding systems. It would enable to explode a carrier (without exploding a nuclear warhead) by the command from the command post with the minimum damage to population and surrounding medium.

At last, they don't mention at all that the Soviet Union having taken a unilateral obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, has introduced still more strict control which excludes indirect launching of its missiles. If the USA and other members of "nuclear club" followed the USSR's example, the situation would be considerably stable and safe.

Modern strategic situation carries a considerable degree of uncertainty because of the nature of nuclear weapons. Then there is no reason to increase this uncertainty by expanding the dangerous race beyond the earth atmosphere. Even without this there is the further increase in the number of warheads, their accuracy and the development of the strategic means of antisubmarine struggle. Immediate ha-

biting of the quantitative and qualitative increase of nuclear weapons would be an effective measure against the danger of "first strike".

The multicomplex antimissile system for the defence of intercontinental ballistic missiles created in the USA mustn't also be ignored. This is a destabilizing system because it gives a material support to the concept of "prolonged" and "limited" nuclear war which is popular in Washington now. They say in Washington that "limited",

"controllable" exchange of strikes against ICBM launching silos don't inflict damage to industrial objects and administrative centres and can't harm the civilian population. The result would be the halt of military operations on the "conditions more preferable for the USA". Something of a nuclear poker. The Soviet military doctrine, based on realistic notions of the nature and character of nuclear war, rejects the idea of its "limitation" as unsound—illusory and extremely dangerous.

At the same time the Soviet Union and its allies must take into consideration such kind of concepts of the American military-political and military-strategic thinking irrespective of their apparent unreality.

Prior to nuclear era, the acceptance by a state of unrealistic schemes for using military force meant, in the first run, the danger of the crushing defeat of this state in the war. From the pure military point of view, it was favourable for its enemies. Today this must be viewed in another way. The leadership of the country, which doesn't take into consideration the real nature of modern war, in case of its unleashing will doom to certain death not only its country and its allies—it will pull with itself the whole mankind into non-existence.

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**SDI AND SPACE ARMS**

**SOVIET JOURNAL DECRIES 'EUROPEAN DEFENSE INITIATIVE'**

AU031541 Moscow MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 5, May 86 (Signed to Press 22 Apr 86) pp 52-58

[Article by Prof V. Beletskiy, doctor of historical sciences: 'What Is Behind the 'European Defense Initiative' Project"--uppercase passages published in boldface]

[Text] There has been recent interaction on military issues between the leading West European NATO member-countries, both regionally and within the framework of the North Atlantic bloc as a whole. The West European countries are already carrying out in practice a number of major programs to build up conventional armaments (in the missile-aerospace industry alone since the beginning of the eighties members of NATO's Eurogroup have been implementing 53 interstate projects with the participation of France, the FRG, Italy, and Belgium, including 23 jointly with the United States). Now different variants of plans to create an antimissile defense for Western Europe, which the press increasingly calls a "European Defense Initiative" (EDI), have come to the fore.

"A Gamble on the EDI," "The EDI Against Soviet Missiles," and "A New Antimissile Defense for Europe Too" -- such headlines abound on the pages of Western newspapers and journals. The issue of the "European Defense Initiative" is not only widely commented on by the Western mass information media, it is mentioned in the public appearances of many foreign state and political figures and is a subject for discussion between the United States and its West European partners and also at the headquarters and organs of NATO.

The appearance of plans to create an extensive antimissile "shield" for Western Europe was facilitated by discussion started in NATO countries at the beginning of the eighties about the reliability of the Atlantic bloc's doctrines of "deterrence" and "flexible response." The unpredictability and adventurism of the foreign policy course of the "new team" that had come to power at the time in Washington served as a spur for this. The "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI) advanced by the U.S. President on 23 March 1983 gave further momentum to activating the idea of a "European antimissile defense" idea.

In this connection U.S. allies on the other side of the Atlantic began to openly express apprehension that implementation of the SDI would create a zone of "reduced security" as compared with the USSR and the United States. In particular, this was stated at the time by the defense ministers of the FRG and France. This viewpoint was also quite widespread in other West European countries.



Such arguments evidently played a role. I think, however, that the real main reason for the promotion of the "European Defense Initiative" lies somewhere else. WITH THE HELP OF A "EUROPEAN" ANTIMISSILE DEFENSE, NATO'S AGGRESSIVE CIRCLES AND THE UNITED STATES, WHICH SUPPORTS THEM, ARE IN FACT PRIMARILY COUNTING ON COVERING UP THE AMERICAN FIRST-STRIKE WEAPONS DEPLOYED IN A NUMBER OF WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, ALTERING THE "EURO-STRATEGIC" AND GLOBAL BALANCE IN FAVOR OF THE NATO BLOC, AND ULTIMATELY TURNING THE EDI INTO AN ADJUNCT TO THE AMERICAN SDI. Precisely this is the dangerous essence of these types of plans, whose implementation would have very negative consequences for European and international security and stability in the world.

The idea of creating a "European antimissile defense" ripened as if in parallel among Washington's West European allies and in the United States itself. In Western Europe one of its main pioneers was the FRG. As far back as 1982 (H. Ruele), chief of the military planning staff in the Defense Ministry, handed to M. Woerner, the head of this department, a document on counteracting the "Soviet threat," composed with the participation of the largest FRG military-industrial concern, "Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blum," where this idea was formed. A number of leading figures of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU), primarily F.-J. Strauss, were also zealous supporters of creating an EDI. After the American SDI program was announced, the leader of the Bavarian "ultras" hastened to call on West Europeans to make "their own efforts" so as to "prevent a strike by Soviet operational-tactical missiles and intermediate-range missiles," which, according to him, represented "an enormous danger" to Europe. (Footnote 1) (DER SPIEGEL, 1985, No 49, p 25).

From then on this subject has not left the lips of prominent West German Christian Democrats, particularly M. Woerner, W. Schaeuble, chief of the Federal Chancellery; A. Dregger, chairman of the CDU/CSU faction in the Bundestag; M. Timmerman, state secretary in the Defense Ministry; and other figures of the ruling bloc.

The first to officially advance the EDI were Bundestag deputies from the CDU/CSU. On 27 September 1985 their proposal was presented to the Bundestag commission on defense issues; in turn, the FRG Defense Ministry was not slow in declaring its readiness to finance a similar plan. (Footnote 2) (See THE GUARDIAN, 28 November, 1985) The same M. Woerner displayed particular vigor in pushing through the newly hatched initiative. In September 1985, having returned from the United States, he called on West Europeans to "seriously think" about the creation of an effective antimissile defense (ABM) system. As the London FINANCIAL TIMES wrote at the time, M. Woerner "is exploring the ground among European allies for joint efforts to create a land-based antimissile system with the aim of counteracting Soviet short-range and ballistic weapons targeted on Western Europe." (Footnote 3) (FINANCIAL TIMES, 20 November, 1985.)

At the insistence of the FRG defense minister, the issue of an EDI was discussed as far back as 2 December 1985 during a NATO Eurogroup session. The reservations he made that the discussion was supposedly only of a "preliminary nature" and was held at his "personal initiative" change nothing in the essence of the matter and are aimed at camouflaging the circumstance that the question of an EDI had begun shifting to a practical plane.

It is apparent from M. Woerner's interview with the newspaper STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN, the FRG Defense Ministry has already drawn up a concrete program of creating an EDI by expanding the ABM system. Asserting that the plans for creating a West European antimissile defense are "less expensive than the SDI and could be implemented more quickly," and also noting that his idea "met with lively interest from the partners" of the FRG in NATO, he stated that he will continue to display "appropriate initiative" in this matter. (Footnote 4) (STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN, 25 December 1985) Addressing

the Bundeswehr command on 22 December 1985, M. Woerner described the EDI as a direct supplement to the U.S. SDI and called on all Europeans to take part in its creation.

The issue of creating a European ABM system was discussed by the French-West German security commission with the participation of the representatives of both countries' defense and foreign ministries, who met on 20 June last year in Paris. (Footnote 5) (See L'EXPRESS, 19 July 1985) The then French Defense Minister C. Hernu admitted in an interview with DEUTSCHLANDFUNK that France is developing antimissile systems and would like for other Western European countries, primarily the FRG, to join them.

The creation of an EDI has been described as "problematic" in the public appearances of P. Quiles, his successor to the post of defense minister, but such statements were apparently, on one hand, called on to pacify public opinion, and on the other hand, reflected disagreements on this issue between France and the FRG, because Bonn wanted to combine the EDI and the SDI. The creation of an antimissile defense system in France is thought of primarily on the basis of its own system. In this, stress is laid on its utilization in space for stated purposes. Europe, according to President F. Mitterrand, cannot be left behind in mastering military-space technologies and cannot abandon its presence in space. As far back as February 1984 in The Hague, the French president put forward the idea of establishing a "European space community" for putting manned military stations into space. A European space program, he stated, would be the best "answer for the military realities of tomorrow."

"Europe," the president stressed, "is capable of putting into space a manned space station that would allow it to conduct surveillance and transfer information. And this, in turn, would give it the opportunity to parry any potential threat and take a major step in its defense." The head of the French Government persistently calls on West European countries to pool efforts in developing outer space, because the strategy of the future, he asserts, is closely associated with space. F. Mitterrand said on 21 November 1985 that in conditions of the militarization of space, which, according to him, are unlikely to stop, one can attain a higher degree of developing it only on a "European" basis. The path to this, according to certain French circles, lies through "Eureka."

Commenting on these statements by the French president, the Parisian newspaper LE MONDE wrote that it confirms his views concerning the need for France to ensure its technological and military presence in space. Citing the increase in budget allocations in 1986 for two major space programs -- "Syracuse" (a communications satellite system) and "Helios" (the creation of military surveillance satellites) -- as well as for the development of new technologies for the "Eureka" project, the newspaper concluded: "All this does not predetermine the appearance in the near future of some kind of European 'shield,' but could lead to its creation." (Footnote 6) (LE MONDE, 23 November 1985)

In December 1985, while in the United States, P. Guiles stated in connection with SDI: "France and Europe are working on similar and like projects." "The European 'Eureka' program, created at the initiative of France," he said, "will permit pooling the knowledge of European countries and joint implementation of projects in the sphere of modern advanced technology. In this case it is of course a question of civilian spheres. However, it is not excluded that certain achievements in the sphere of technology could also have a military application (lasers, high-powered computers, and so on)." (Footnote 7) (LE MONDE, 18 December 1985)

According to assessments by Western experts, implementation of the projects "Helios" and "Hermes" (the creation of a reusable spacecraft in the second half of the nineties)

could become the basis for a "European space defense." The information that France has allotted significantly more funds for "space research" in the current year's budget and that a special subdivision -- a "space command" -- has been established in the French Defense Ministry has attracted the attention of foreign observers.

Great Britain, judging by British press reports, will also take part in a "European Defense Initiative," if it is directly connected with the current goals of the SDI. (Footnote 8) (THE GUARDIAN, 9 December 1985)

For its part, the United States regards the idea of creating an antimissile defense in Western Europe, which fully satisfies its military-strategic precepts, with obvious approval, but under the condition of the West Europeans' close cooperation with the United States. As R. Perle, assistant to the U.S. defense secretary, stated in a talk with West German journalists on 20 September 1985, Washington "will fully empathize with the Europeans if they turn to the United States for assistance in designing their own ABM system." In this Washington, as is evident, is taking into account the considerable difficulties associated with implementing the American SDI -- long time frames, enormous expenditures, doubts about its effectiveness and feasibility in general, the resistance of other countries, including some U.S. allies, and so on.

Seeking to speed up the "arms upgrading" of its NATO partners (inter alia, something that would permit a strengthening of American control over them), the United States evidently proceeds from the premise that the creation of an antimissile defense for Western Europe is a more easily realizable task. At the same time Washington is obviously counting on turning the planned West European antimissile defense into a kind of adjunct to the SDI (if it is implemented, of course).

As far back as March 1983, while informing NATO countries about the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative" at a Nuclear Planning Group session in Cesme, C. Weinberger called on them to "think" about the prevailing problems facing them in this regard, insofar as the SDI is intended for the struggle against Soviet strategic missiles. (Footnote 9) See DER SPIEGEL, 1985, No. 49, p. 25) The Americans themselves have admitted -- for instance, this was done by General B. Rogers, commander in chief of the combined NATO Armed Forces in Europe, in an interview with the radio station Deutsche Welle in November 1985 -- that "the creation in the United States of an antimissile defense (ABM) with space-based elements could lead to the appearance of 'reduced security zone' in Western Europe." Moreover, he added, "there are no guarantees that the United States will retain the current European nuclear defense system."

In the instructions of B. Rogers, experts at NATO headquarters had last fall already studied the question of the creation of a "European antimissile defense" and reported to him that this project was quite "workable" if the West European countries closely cooperate with the Americans in carrying out the SDI plan. At an international seminar in Munich on 19 November 1985, B. Rogers stated that it would be useful to supplement the SDI with a "European Defense Initiative" implemented as a "mutual incentive program, not in competition with the SDI."

In December 1985 during his visit to the FRG, C. Weinberger noted in his perfunctory speech at the club of the K. Adenauer Foundation that "Washington has nothing against a 'European Defense Initiative,' which could be implemented simultaneously with the SDI." R. Burt, U.S. ambassador to the FRG, expressed himself similarly, calling on Europeans to supplement the SDI with a "European Defense Initiative" "for defense against intermediate- and short-range missiles." (Footnote 10) (DER SPIEGEL, 1985, No. 52, p. 23)

Seeking to keep plans for the creation of an antimissile defense, primarily the EDI, in Western Europe under its control and to subsequently drag them into the SDI, the United States is now insisting that it be developed on the basis of the American system of "Patriot" surface-to-air missile complexes. C. Weinberger, reporting to allies on the SDI plan at the aforesaid session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group in Cesme (1983) and "cheering" them on, said that the United States had begun to work on adapting the "Patriot" system for the struggle against intermediate-range missiles in the European theater of operations.

According to the 1983 agreement between the United States and the FRG, 28 "Patriot" batteries must be deployed on West German territory in combination with 68 French-West German-produced "Roland" surface-to-air missile complexes. According to some reports, "Patriot" missiles have already been installed in the FRG and the Netherlands, and it is planned to also deploy them in the future in Belgium. After the FRG and the Netherlands made the decision to deploy "Patriot" missile launchers on their territory, the United States sharply intensified pressure on NATO countries to accelerate implementation of "European antimissile defense" plans. According to American press reports, the Pentagon leader recently approved a new secret directive for the long term, that gives priority to creating a system for counteracting intermediate- and short-range missiles. (Footnote 11) (See THE NEW YORK TIMES, 29 January 1986) Representatives of the Washington administration, in particular Gen J. Abrahamson, now frankly state that a West European antimissile system must be an integrated component of the U.S. SDI.

Thus, engendered at first as an idea to create a more effective West European air defense system, the projected EDI is becoming increasingly clearly transformed into an antimissile defense system. Debate is now mainly reduced to what kind of system this will be -- nuclear or conventional and ground-, space-, or mixed-based, to be created on the basis of U.S. programs and systems (SDI, "Patriot") or on the basis of "European" formulations.

According to assessments by Western specialists, Western Europe now already possesses the financial means necessary for this, and by the end of the next decade will also have at its disposal the appropriate material-technical and technological potential. Individual elements of this system are already being drawn up by major military-industrial concerns of the FRG ("Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm," "Telefunken," and "Lorentz"), France ("Thomson" and "Aerospatiale"), the Netherlands ("Philips"), and certain other West European countries.

As we see, although the EDI is still a project under discussion, it is at the same time developing increasingly visible contours, and NATO is already discussing concrete questions connected with it. At the same time, differences between its possible participants and between a number of West European states and the United States have not yet been eliminated. Certain small countries, such as Denmark and Greece, have a negative attitude toward it, and others are restrained. There are certain complications on this issue even between the FRG and France. Thus, France is afraid that the FRG, which has the most support from the United States, will get access to the most modern technology and in the future start to play an even more important role in military issues and, therefore, in Western Europe and NATO as a whole, which will by no means meet French interests. In turn, Bonn is afraid that reliance primarily on France in creating the EDI will negatively effect not only the FRG's relations with the United States but also with Britain. Moreover, the FRG would like to create the projected system largely through the formulations of its own concerns, on which the latter energetically insist, and as a direct makeweight for the SDI.



But with all these differences, military cooperation between France and the FRG has constantly expanded in recent years both along the lines of the Western European (WEU) and the 1963 Elysee Treaty.

The revival of the WEU has enabled France to strengthen its role in Western Europe to a certain extent and has enabled the FRG to free itself from various limitations on military production. However, in view of the important differences in the positions of WEU participants, it for now essentially remains a kind of "autonomous center" for discussions on military-strategic issues. Military cooperation between France and the FRG has developed more along the lines of the Elysee Treaty than within the WEU framework.

After a definite lull in the seventies, it has noticeably revived. Beginning in 1982, the issues of further expanding this cooperation between France and the FRG became the subject of a regular exchange of views between both countries' defense ministries and heads of government. Thus, at a periodic French-West German summit meeting in Rambouillet in May 1984, 50 joint projects on arms production were planned, the majority of which are already in the implementation phase (for instance, agreements on the production of "Jaguar" and "Alpha Jet" combat aircraft, the "Hot" missile, a combat helicopter, the development of a project for a supersonic antiship missile and a third-generation antitank missile, and others). Plans for cooperation in space (the projects "Helios," "Hermes," and others) are being coordinated, although not without difficulties.

Seeking to overcome differences with the French, at the end of last year Chancellor H. Kohl proposed to F. Mitterrand the establishment of a joint commission to examine cooperation problems in the sphere of aviation construction and opening up outer space. It is also charged with "planning the so-called European defense system, which is intended for the interception of short-range missiles." The commentaries of the foreign mass information media invariably note that considerable differences exist between the French and the West Germans, but that there are even more points of mutual interest. French-West German cooperation in the military sphere undoubtedly has its limits. It is limited on one hand by France's claims to the leading role in Western Europe and its position in relation to its nuclear potential, which the French do not want to discuss even with their closest partners, and on the other hand by the FRG's very close ties to the United States, including those in the military-strategic sphere. Nevertheless, one must see that the military-political interaction of the two countries is a linchpin of Western European military integration, which is now developing increasingly more visible contours.

Under growing U.S. pressure on NATO countries, discussion of plans to create a "European antimissile defense" in the form of the EDI on the basis of increasingly closer military cooperation between a number of Western European countries is patently becoming more active, and this is being received with legitimate concern by peace-loving democratic public opinion not only in Europe, but beyond.

Therefore, one can conclude from the aforesaid that in the FRG, France, and the United States -- three Western countries on which the resolution of the question: will the projected West European antimissile defense come in to being or not, decisively depends, -- active work is already under way in this direction. The creation of such a system would open a dangerous new channel for the arms race and would undermine the very essence of disarmament agreements, particularly the 1972 ABM Treaty -- the foundation of strategic stability in the world. Although the West, particularly Bonn, is tirelessly reiterating its support for this treaty, it is acting in the directly opposite spirit. Having written a programmatic article in January this year in the

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, L. Ruehl, state secretary of the FRG Defense Ministry, expressed support for NATO "given priority" to the task of creating an ABM for West European countries. (Footnote 12) (See FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 17 January 1986)

When the EDI project comes into question with all the references to the need to attain the unity of Western Europe to strengthen its position and increase influence on the United States, what is primarily intended in practice is the intensification of West European countries; military cooperation as a "European buttress" of NATO, which testifies to the obvious direction of these plans against the Soviet Union and states allied with it. Thus, the EDI pursues the same direction, as does the American SDI. It is not without reason that M. Woerner lays stress on the closest coordination of the EDI and SDI.

The idea of creating an EDI is completely contrary to the Soviet-American accord at the Geneva summit and is only capable of complicating the talks on space and nuclear arms and gives rise to additional difficulties on the path toward settling the question of intermediate-range missiles in Europe. All this can only give momentum to the arms race and lead to a further increase in tension and an exacerbation of military confrontation fraught with very serious consequences.

The path to peace lies not through confrontation and the development of new military programs, not through participation in the "star wars" program and the creation of space strike systems, but through dialogue, curbing the arms race, disarmament, reducing military confrontation, preventing militarization of space, and by searching at the negotiating table for opportunities to settle these issues in the interests of ensuring international security through the joint efforts of states and peoples.

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SDI AND SPACE ARMS

FRENCH DEFENSE MINISTER DISCUSSES SDI

PM091100 Paris LE MONDE in French 31 May 86 p 10

[Article by Jacques Isnard: "Space Defense and Nuclear Deterrence Are Complementary"]

[Text] Following the rather contradictory statements by Francois Mitterrand and Jacques Chirac on the need for France not to join or, on the other hand, for it to take part in the American plan for an ABM space shield, Defense Minister Andre Giraud made more realistic and less dogmatic statements in the Senate Thursday 29 May, dismissing both the president of the Republic and the prime minister on the subject of the foreseeable strategic repercussions of the SDI in the United States.

"A self-sufficient space defense system is not going to appear in the immediate future," Mr Giraud said. "There has been a major change in the presentation of the SDI since Washington is now no longer talking about the disappearance of deterrence. Thus space defense and nuclear deterrence, which remains the cornerstone of our security system, now seem more complementary than competitive. I also note that space has become a new dimension of our security and defense. The nation's elected representatives will be called on to give their verdict on the space aspect of our defense policy when the new military programming law is examined in the fall."

Addressing the senators, the defense minister only drew from the statements made by the head of state and the prime minister some elements which could justify his own synthesis. For instance, he recalled that Mr Mitterrand had said that France should avoid becoming part of systems in which it would not play a full and free part in decisionmaking. He then recalled that Mr Chirac had expressed the wish that France should remain outside such a movement and that it should not miss the opportunity to increase European solidarity.

Before Mr Giraud, who was expressing his views on space defense for the first time in public, Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond had raised this question when addressing the National Assembly Defense Commission. Mr Raimond pointed out on 15 May that the assessment of the SDI's technological repercussions from which Europe might benefit is now being downgraded. Similarly, he added, the argument that this system casts doubt on nuclear deterrence is being given less prominence by the

Americans. The foreign minister expressed the view that the development of the strategic debate should be followed without preconceptions, with the awareness that the existing conditions for exercising nuclear deterrence will remain at the center of Western security systems for along time to come.

These statements by Mr Raimond prompted a rejoinder from former Socialist Defense Minister Paul Quilès, who thinks that the present government's position is virtually identical to that of the previous government with regard to the assessment of the permanence of nuclear deterrence. Mr Chirac's later statements, regarded as very favorable to the SDI, then disturbed the opposition, which was reassured shortly afterward by the president's statements.

The synthesis proposed to the senators by Mr Giraud is similar to previous statements by the present defense minister. Indeed in a viewpoint published in *LE MONDE* on 12 February, Mr Giraud, after welcoming the fact that Mr Mitterrand expressed a perfectly Gaullist general concept and expressing the view that the head of state's analysis of the SDI concept was beyond reproach, nonetheless suggested that France should show a less aggressive attitude toward the United States and not just do as it pleases, as it did with regard to nuclear weapons.

It is known that the previous government drew up a space program known as VEC (seeing, listening, communicating), which is based on placing in orbit observation satellites, satellites to monitor enemy communications, and telecommunications satellites. The plans for communications satellites (the Syracuse-2 program) and observation satellites (the Helios program) would require a financial effort between now and 1992 of an additional Fr2 billion per year, culminating around 1992 in an additional Fr3.8 billion per year in the defense budget as it is calculated at present.

These national programs do not prevent France from suggesting to its European allies, especially Britain and the FRG, that they examine ways in which these three countries could organize joint defense against enemy ballistic missiles, especially the Warsaw Pact's SS-20, SS-21, or SS-22 missiles. This space protection would be ground-based, using ground-based lasers, and would complement the SDI but be adapted to Europe.



SDI AND SPACE ARMS

FRENCH DEFENSE MINISTRY JOURNAL OUTLINES SDI RESERVATIONS

PM121521 Paris LE MONDE in French 7 Jun 86 p 4

[Report by Jacques Isnard: "SDI in Question"]

[Text] The monthly *ARMEES D'AUJOURD'HUI*, the Defense Ministry's official publication, carries in its latest issue a feature on "space war" in which the authors, who are mainly engineers from the General Delegation for Armaments, try to pick out the technical and operational difficulties which they think are bound to arise in the construction of an ABM defense system in space, otherwise known in the United States as the SDI.

This publication, which expresses doubts French experts have about the feasibility, impenetrability, and alleged invulnerability of such a system, comes at a time when the head of state and the prime minister have expressed views on this project which differ, to say the least. I shall draw several main themes from this lengthy and extensively illustrated document without hoping to exhaust the subject, which is itself a subject of great controversy in the United States and in Europe.

According to the authors, several aspects of the SDI program, described on many occasions as major "difficulties," are thus highlighted on the scientific, technical, and military levels. One of the authors thinks that the main question mark hangs over the almost instantaneous capacity to train the ABM weapons on their targets: it is necessary to be able to aim at a target 10 cm in diameter approaching at 5 km per second from a distance of 1,000 km, in other words be able to hit a single hair accurately at 100 m. According to another of the authors it will be necessary to have available, in permanent working order, a software package of more than 10 million instructions, functioning in real time on a series of machines having the overall capacity to process 1 trillion operations per second, and this raises the problem of the speed with which political decisions are made and of consultation.

A third author stresses the question of the number of satellites used and their total mass: A rapid calculation shows that it would take 32 years and \$330 billion at the rate of one shuttle launched twice a week to place in low orbit enough directed energy weapons (lasers for instance) to form a shield.

Finally, other authors of this same official document state that the vulnerability and survivalability of military space systems (nothing is more predetermined than a satellite's trajectory) are their Achilles' heel and that there are already countermeasures to space defense.

One of the signatories goes so far as to write: "The only possible conclusion at present is a question. Despite an attractive principle, ABM laser weapons face enormous technical difficulties, and nobody can say with certainty whether they will be overcome even in the long term." Another adds that France has means of designing antisatellite weapons and adapting its offensive missiles to a threat.

It seems impossible for such a feature to have been published without the agreement of the Defense Ministry office, one of whose members is, moreover, on the magazine's board of directors. You cannot help noticing that the reservations and arguments put forward by *ARMEES D'AUJOURD'HUI* to some extent contradict the prime minister, whose enthusiasm for the SDI prompted more reserved comments and even a degree of distance from the president of the republic a few days ago.

While the defense minister was anxious to adopt a middle course which is probably more realistic in this debate between the Elysee and the Matignon, Socialist former Defense Minister Paul Quilès stressed in a monthly letter now devoted to strategic and military questions that the prime minister was not about to change his mind on the subject.

In the United States itself the SDI is still causing a problem. Some 46 senators (Republicans and Democrats) out of 100 think that the SDI's objectives are still not clear. Some 6,000 American research workers (in laboratories and universities) have signed a petition refusing to take part in the program. Finally, President Reagan has written to Congress asking it to support this research program, whereas the Senate Armed Services Committee is proposing to reduce the budget allocated to the SDI in 1987 from [the equivalent of] Fr5.4 billion to Fr3.1 billion.

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SDI AND SPACE ARMS

TURKISH DEFENSE MINISTER ON SDI DELEGATION TO U.S.

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 23 Apr 86 p 13

[Article by Sedat Kirgin]

[Text] Defense Minister Zeki Yavuzturk has announced that a team of experts will be sent to the U.S. in order to gain information on the "Strategic Defense Initiative", often referred to in short as "Star Wars". Yavuzturk will shortly send a letter to U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger informing him of this decision.

In answering CUMHURİYET's questions, Yavuzturk stressed that the purpose of the delegation's visit would be to learn the "nature" of the project, and that no political decision has yet been made on the question of possible Turkish participation in the Strategic Defense Initiative. Yavuzturk said that "First let's find out about it, then when the time comes we'll make our political decision. Should there be any development which in one way or another should cause us any concern from the standpoint of the alliance, we'll make our decision at that time."

Yavuzturk answered CUMHURİYET's questions as follows:

[Question] You recently announced that a delegation would be sent to the U.S. regarding the Star Wars project. Has this group's travel become definite?

Yavuzturk: Yes. What can be done on the topic of the Strategic Defense Initiative? What are the research topics in this project? What are the projects? A delegation to make contacts on this topic will be sent to the U.S. in the near future. The departure date is not completely firm, but it is known who will be included in the delegation. It will be a collection of experts. Very soon I'm going to send a letter to U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger in connection with the delegation's trip. The contents of the letter will be limited to the notification of the delegation's trip. Otherwise, on the question of Turkish participation in the strategic defense program or our firms' entering into the project, no decision has yet been made. The delegation's travel is rather aimed at learning about the topic.

[Question] What has been Turkey's view of the Star Wars project in the recent past?

Yavuzturk: The topics to be researched in the "Strategic Defense Initiative" pertain to advanced technology. The whole matter became wound up in a political wrangle following U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger's letter to the allies last year. Was there a political aspect to it or not? It should have been made clear at that stage. This is a question of research. One of our allies (the U.S.) says "We're going to carry out research on these topics." Right away, based on this, it was said that "This is an umbrella that will defend the U.S. If this umbrella becomes a reality, the defense of Europe will be in danger, or else the Soviet Union will get the same umbrella. They will enter a similar research program. And this will cause an arms race." It is possible to look at the issue in this manner. If you look at this side of it, the things being said are true. "When the U.S. enters into such research, perhaps the Soviets will also have done so, or will. In this case, there's an escalation." One can think in this way.

Second, it was said that "This is a question of research. We don't want the approval of governments, let your firms enter into it. It will result in expenditures of 4 - 5 billion dollars in the first year. In time, this figure will increase to 20 - 30 billion. Our corporations are involved in this, yours are welcome, too..."

Third, there have been those who said "No matter how much it's called 'Star Wars', this is something which includes the very latest research of our day. It's not merely space research. It's a research program which includes every area of research. And it may be possible as well for this research to be applied for non-military purposes. In this case, it is useful for research units to get involved."

We listened to all these viewpoints. We followed the briefings provided. It's necessary to keep up with the topic. I said the same thing in my address to the National Assembly. In this last quarter of the 20th century, with such an advanced research project which virtually all the alliance members want to work their way into in some form or another, it's wrong to say "Count us out" at the very beginning, before one even knows what it's about. Let's go in and learn about it to a given point. Should there be any development which in one way or another should cause us any concern from the standpoint of the alliance, we'll make our decision at that time. From this standpoint, we have no hesitation.

[Question] Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany have both signed bilateral agreements with the U.S. in order to take part in research within the framework of this project. Is Turkey considering a bilateral agreement with the U.S. on this matter?

Yavuzturk: First, let the colleagues on the delegation we're sending to the U.S. announce their final views. If the relevant units of our research organizations -- whether of TUBITAK [Turkish Scientific and Technical Research Organization] or the universities -- should be able to contribute anything, then we'll evaluate from the political standpoint the question of their participation.

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

ITALIAN DISADVANTAGES IN SDI CITED IN REPORT

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 21 May 86 p 3

[Article by Claudio Nicolini]

[Text] What follows is the portion devoted to the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) in an internal report completed last April by Prof Claudio Nicolini, member of Palazzo Chigi's Science and Technology Commission and delivered to Prime Minister Craxi. Prof Nicolini resigned last month to protest the government's appointments to the National Research Council (CNR), the state of research in Italy, and the way SDI is being handled here.

Prof Nicolini's proposal urges that we reject the attitude the United States seeks to thrust upon Europe. The Americans, of course, will be quite willing to spin off to Italian and European industry some minor areas of research, strictly controlled by them (to the point where the moment a research project showed real promise, it would automatically become a military secret), and furthermore would open the way to only nugatory enhancement of the competitive stance of our industries in the future. The fact is, Nicolini informs us, that the agreements reached between the U.S. and some of our corporations would concentrate resources on the "mature" aspects of the new technology. That means that Italian companies could begin "marketing" their new products as soon as they moved into mass production, but that, within a very few years, they would find that they had been bypassed and abandoned at a low technological level.

In order to achieve SDI's ambitious technological goals (totally effective defense for the United States and Europe plus optimal industrial fallout), and thereby achieve decisive military superiority (a threat to world peace, which has long been rooted in the balance of forces), SDI is going to require an array of breakthroughs, including sensors and materials that do not yet exist, not to mention "thinking machines" endowed with brains whose architecture parallels our own, needing only the transit of a molecular-electronic signal across a futuristic biomolecular grid to access computers with astonishing (and currently unimaginable) capacity to gather, process, and store data at fantastic speed.



These are the kinds of long-term, open-ended concepts upon which the relationship between Italy and the United States in SDI must be concentrated, as we strive for an agreement that would scrap a negative challenge (military defense) and adopt a positive, "civilian" offensive challenge for the advantage of all mankind (including the USSR). That kind of solution could both accommodate American urgency and, in the finest machiavellian tradition, satisfy the requirements of our country's economy, in view of the fact that these matters are going to call for substantial expenditures over a long period of years, and, thanks to that far horizon, might well be sustained enough to precipitate one of the greatest industrial revolutions of all time.

That kind of involvement would have the advantage of remaining "unclassified," meaning that it would entail no military secrets. and that, in turn, would make it possible to reconcile two diametrically opposite exigencies that are not being met with the current "sensitive" or "classified" short-term scientific and technological projects hitherto offered to Italian industry. It would:

- 1) Give the United States whatever it asked for, including confirmation of our privileged relationship as collaborators on strategic matters within the Atlantic Alliance, some form of political coverage for its European flank (but nothing more);
- 2) Give Italy its due (no more colonies-- at least under this government--no more insignificant fringes of empire) but rather a voice in contract awards and control of all aspects of technology from A to Z, which would make it possible realistically-- and not just on paper-- to make an industrial commitment, one under which Italy would reserve the right to determine (with or without prior consultation with the ally) the level of secrecy, the current level of application throughout Italian industry, and its imposition within the boundaries of defense, coupled with a veto power, the easier to exercise in that they would become domestic generators and sources of basic know-how.

The government's announced alternative of permitting industrial contracts on a short-term, one-time basis, without even reaching a government-to-government understanding, clearly portends a multiplicity of problems: first, competent management of short-term projects (which are far and away the most prevalent in SDI) is hard to come by, given their "classified" or "top secret" or "sensitive" nature, which in essence means that they are destined to become secret as of the day they are deemed successful; the real danger, though, is that, at best, our industry will find itself more or less generously compensated for mass-producing fiber optics, nuts and bolts, advanced systems or microchips for some satellite or bomb or sensors, but utterly ignorant of

other components of the object or about its eventual utilization. Given the modus operandi of the agencies monitoring the agreements, it would be rash to allow ourselves to be lured into hard-and-fast logic, demanding, in addition to political consensus, utilization of the assembly lines and of the paucity of research and development to be found in our mechanical corporations (whether FIAT or Finmeccanica) and our electronics firms (whether Olivetti or Stet). What for? maybe for a few million dollars and out of friendship for the United States? The friendship between Italy and the United States has roots both deep and genetic, far surpassing our ties with the present administration, and in any case, to ask for an agreement that would bring development to our regions and enhance our technical potential would have as its sole effect an increase in their respect for us (after the Sigonella model).

As for the financial prospects, they will certainly be more than acceptable to the companies involved over the short term, but they will be a bitter and indigestible mess of potage for the rest of the country to live on in the long run. On top of all that, even if we take it for granted that the government will not be making direct cash investments, sooner or later the government itself will have to start doing so, and at steadily mounting levels (as a lot of people are already seeking for the analogous project that bears Mitterrand's brand and goes by the name of Eureka), affecting, among other things, scientific and technological plans that would be drafted abroad (thereby marching roughshod over our own top priorities).

Our answer, therefore, must be "no!" to merely washing our hands, rejecting a policy agreement between governments with one hand, while the other hand is blessing state, mixed-economy, or private enterprises' desire to enter into research contracts. The answer again must be "no!" to government-to-governments contracts for work on "classified" and sensitive projects of any nature or scope whatsoever, particularly those with a low technological content. The government must not knuckle under to pressure from Italy's big industry for SDI (or for Eureka, either); to do so would sacrifice our chances of future industrial development for a handful of profits now. Such fevered haste to get into technological research, particularly on the part of certain large private companies, is unseemly, and none too credible, either, given the fact that, with a handful of exceptions (viz. Montedison, Sclavo, Rse, Sgs-Ates or Fidia), very few of them have any track record at all in this field, and their current feeding-frenzy over SDI is reminiscent of their headlong plunge unto the depths of research and development with the passage of PL 46, in the total absence of meaningful controls over production quantities, in the teeth of the public statements in the Lingotto case.

Given the modus operandi of the agencies that monitor the agreements, it would be hazardous to let ourselves be boxed into rigid logical constructs that call not only for political consensus but also for use of assembly lines and of the small amount of research and development now under way at our heavy manufacturing companies (be they FIAT or Finmeccanica) and our electronics firms (be they Olivetti or STET). And in exchange for what? For a few million dollars, maybe, or for the friendship of the United States? The friendship between Italy and the United States has deep genetic roots, something quite different from our relations with its current administration, and, in any case, one that seeks an accord that would acknowledge our intellectual capacity and our technical potential would merely win them greater respect (following the Sigonella format).

The financial outlook, furthermore, is certainly indicative of at least some profit in the short term for the companies concerned, but it will certainly be bitter and indigestible sustenance for the country in the long run. What is more, even if we take it for granted that initially the government is making no cash investments, sooner or later that same government will be doing just that, and doing it at inexorably rising levels (such as a lot of people already want for the similar project with Mitterrand's trademark, known as Eureka), for, among other things, scientific and technological plans that would be made outside the country (and eventually undermine our own priorities).

The answer, therefore, must be "no." We must not wash our hands, rejecting both a political agreement between governments and giving our blessing to state-owned, partially state-owned, or private corporations which may wish to enter into research contracts. The answer again is no, obviously, to any government-to-government deal on "classified" or "sensitive" matters of whatever nature or scope, especially if their technological content is meager and limited. The government must not yield to big Italian industry on SDI (or on Eureka), because doing so would generate some profits in the short run, but jeopardize our chances for further industrial expansion in the future. Such avidity for technological research, particularly on the part of some of our biggest private corporations, is unseemly and none too credible, either, given the fact that research, with a very few exceptions (Montedison, Sclavo, Rse, Sgs-Ates or Fidia) is not a very crowded field, and their eagerness is reminiscent of the feeding frenzy with which they plunged into research and development under PL 46, in the absolute lack of any controls on the merits and of any substantive ceilings on quantities produced, in defiance of the public statements made on the Lingotto case.

If, instead of a government agreement (clear-cut, open, and understandable) on an "unclassified" topic—like the one on biochips, "smart" computers, or others of like nature—which would amount to



a healthy challenge to mankind, stirring enough to guarantee, within the framework of a privileged relationship with the United States (on issues equally critical to the Americans), both enormous profit to Italian industry, and which in addition, by its very nature as a long-term and revolutionary innovation in basic science and technology cannot possibly give rise to legitimate concerns in any quarter (including the USSR).

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### SDI SEEN AS HEAVY ECONOMIC BURDEN ON SOVIETS

Budapest MAGYAR TUDOMANY in Hungarian No 3, Mar 86 pp 204-212

[Article by Colonel Imre Bokor, engineer and doctor of military science:  
"Starwars"--With Falling Stars"]

[Excerpts] It is a logical and inevitable consequence of the armament race that the parties involved will grasp at every possibility in the interest of modernization and advancement. Consequently, we must have no illusions whatsoever that they would balk at using outer space. Putting it differently, without halting the armament race, it cannot be expected that they would pass up the new warfare technologies or the expansion of their field of application (action). Thus, these bald and somber facts don't quite serve to enhance an optimistic mood. The experiences of the last few decades are unfortunate proof that the rate of the armament race could not be decreased.

At the same time, in the development of the arms race during the period after WWII, a sharp distinction must be made between the party provoking (starting and continually renewing) the race and the party forced into the armament race on the basis of concrete facts proven beyond any shadow of doubt. The USA, as the initiator of the armament race, has again taken the (expected) next step toward the "militarization" of outer space.

I begin with the remark that--in my opinion--SDI was started long ago by the Pentagon involving various civilian and military research institutions and the war industry, or at least they have engaged in detailed preparatory work and partial programs which, through integration and further development, make the continuation of the program possible, in its present, planned form. Among the partial programs are the experiments conducted with the Columbia, Challenger, Discovery and Atlantis space ships, the construction of ground control station systems and bases and, furthermore, research on the so-called "multi-layered" cosmic defense system carried out under diverse code names (LODE = Large Optic Demonstration--ray weapons located in outer space; LAMP = Large Army Mirror Program--the focussing and targeting of ground-based radiant energy weapons by means of mirrors located in outer space; ADAT = Antisatellite--rocket to destroy artificial satellites; TALON GOLD = Golden fin--destructive clouds produced by "passive" means, etc.)

USA policy after WWII has been basically unchanged and it has been crystal clear in the sense that it aims to deal with everyone from a position of strength, to enforce its will by means of political, economic or military pressure over anyone be it an ally, a neutral party or an enemy. To this effect it has continually modernized its weapons, established hundreds of bases the world over, instituted aggressive military alliances and interfered, directly or indirectly, with every progressive movement.

Essentially, it has never camouflaged its anti-Soviet policy. During the past decades it has done virtually everything to put the Soviet Union and the socialist camp into a difficult position and to hinder their development in the political, ideological, economic, military and also scientific-technical areas. Among others, armament is also subject to this policy and, consequently, it has had an unbroken (continuously) aggressive and provocative character. This fact has remained essentially unchanged even when they verbally advocated agreement and thaw and signed disarmament agreements. These may be tactical moves with the lifespan of a day fly.

According to the judgement of respected economists, the military industry "provides" the highest profits in the capitalist world, its four percent yield being far above every other industrial sector. The electronics industry is in prominent second place on the list. Because the electronics industry is the biggest "supplier" of the military industry, it is very easy to understand why the development of space weapons has been continuous and has produced truly spectacular results. Consequently, it is also not by chance that expenses associated with the conquest of outer space make up a significant part of the USA military budget.

It can be viewed as a decisive economic consideration on the part of the USA that if the total costs of SDI are around several hundred billion dollars then the corresponding Soviet (response) program must also spend as much. Thus, there is a two-fold profit: their technological supremacy increases, their leading role within the capitalist world is enhanced while at the same time the "embodiment of everything evil" is forced to invest a significant part of its budget in outer space instead of the people's economy.

This economic (directional) strategy of the capitalist world against the Soviet Union has remained virtually unchanged ever since the existence of the latter; at the most, there were periodic tactical modifications. Although, beginning with the 1920's, it must have become clear that the Soviet Union cannot be coerced, be made to retreat in matters of principle or be weakened in its defensive and offensive capacity by means of blackmail, boycott, economic sanctions or political pressure, this strategy has been maintained virtually unchanged. The Soviet people have accepted the difficulties, their tolerance cannot be compared with that of the Western World and thus it is completely futile to wait for its exhaustion.

It does not mean, of course, that the economic strategy of the USA does not pose problems and difficulties for the Soviet Union or the socialist camp. It should not be denied that the SDI program will only increase these difficulties but the difficulties of the Soviet Union and of the socialist camp, added to the material resources wasted on the senseless armament race,

will, in the final analysis, also increase the difficulties of the capitalist world.

It seems that, because of the apparently promising short-range economic program, the leading authorities of the USA and of the NATO countries do not see the series of easily predictable long-range difficulties particularly those where there will be no chance for correction. The apparent truth of this economic narrow-mindedness is also supported by the technical problems analyzed in the following.

The situation is made more complex by the possibility of launching several rockets from different locations and, therefore, the number of sensors must also be increased as a function of the number of rockets a given installation (or complex) is capable of sensing or the number of rockets expected to be deployed. In practice it looks--to "transplant" the problems into the field of soccer--as if one side would play with several balls and would "bombard" the opposing goal with several balls from various distances and directions (angles) with the possibility that each given ball could separate into 8 to 10 smaller balls moving along their individual courses in the direction of the goal.

In such an extreme case, in the interest of avoiding defeat among the hail of balls, defense ought to be strengthened by a multiple (sectional) layer of defenses further away from the goal to interrupt the path of the balls flying toward it. With SDI, the aim is served by the conception of producing a multilayer, sectional defense within which various destructive means from various positions would exert their effect against the rockets (flying bodies).

Scientists and planners view the use of laser weapons as the most promising. It offers several possibilities with respect to implementation. In one version, the laser weapons would be set up in space together with the energy source; in another version, the laser rays would be "projected" from ground-based objects to the laser mirror moving in a geostationary orbit which would "transmit" them toward the rocket in order to destroy it.

Both versions have advantages but mainly disadvantages. An active laser emitter placed on a military space station requires the use of about six tons of fuel for the destruction of 15 rockets at the most. With the current "rocket stock," the USA would need about 700 military space stations. This would absorb an enormous sum of money, about 15 to 20 times more than the other solution. With that solution, the problems that emerge are extensive atmospheric interference (in the case of a very cloudy sky transmission might even become impossible) and the periodically unfavorable position of the mirrors on account of the periodicity of their orbits. Because of these considerations, several ground stations will be needed. (The total energy demand of the installations is 32 GW. The atomic energy plant of Paks, after its completions, will produce somewhat more than 1.6 GW.)

### Passive Technical Solutions (Countermeasures)

1. Detection of the rockets at their launching and in their active phase (during the time of active propulsion) can be made very difficult by means of decoy fire sources and infra-traps (small rockets emitting high performance infrared (heat) rays, deployed in various directions) and the sensor can be deceived.
2. The "heat resistance capacity" of the rocket bodies can be increased with various metal and ceramic coatings and reflecting surfaces.
3. The fire emitted by the rocket can be "shaded" to a significant extent.
4. With the use of new fuels and "increased miniaturization," the active phase period of the rocket can be shortened.

### Active Technical Solutions (Countermeasures)

1. The space installations (detectors, destroyers) can be detected and destroyed.
2. The number of rockets can be increased.
3. The contact (information transmission) between the space objects and the ground or air plane-based objects can be interfered with.

### Doubts

1. The laser (or other) radiation reaching the rocket body will destroy (make ineffective) the rocket only if it hits the fuel system or the propulsion mechanism in the active phase or if it damages the nuclear structure. Considering the velocity of the rocket, the possible inaccuracy of aiming and the rockets dimensions (25 to 50 m), the probability is not excluded that it will not be destroyed even when "hit" especially when it is hit in the non-active phase.
2. When a large number of rockets is deployed (nearly simultaneously), it does not seem unequivocally solved that the sensors and the destructive weapons would precisely resolve (distinguish between) the individual targets, that is, that they would not "concentrate" on one rocket or one group of rockets while ignoring the other rockets in the "pile."
3. Against a large number of rockets at great distances (several tens, hundreds or thousands of km) from each other, deployed from different sites, only an increase in the number of space weapons (objects) could provide protection. If this were to be followed by an increase in the number of rockets (with cost effects far below that of the space objects) then the current question mark attached to the meaningfulness of the SDI program would need to be replaced by a completely new notation indicative of a super-



order of magnitude of futility, senselessness and irreality. In my opinion, implementation of any of the countermeasures would shake the entire SDI in its foundations while the feasibility of the passive and active variations listed can be assured with 100 percent certainty under the current stage of technical development.

Implementation of the SDI program planned by the USA would obviously change the current balance of power irrespective of how credulous or doubting one may be in judging the motives of the program. In spite of the fact that they are completely clear about the steps the Soviet Union would take in response, they would not desist from carrying out their plan. Thereby they had essentially decided in favor of military escalation.

My goal was to promote the realistic evaluation of the USA Starwar plans, the underlying motives and correlations, by those interested. And, through it, the danger threatening humanity and our globe.

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CSO: 5200/3029

## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### GORBACHEV DESCRIBES LATEST SOVIET PROPOSALS

PM171412 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 86 Second Edition pp 1-4

[Report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 16 June CPSU Central Committee plenum: "On the 5-Year Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and Party Organizations' Tasks To Implement It"]

[Excerpts] Comrades!

Today we have to discuss how the general line determined by the congress is being implemented, to sum up the preliminary results, to learn lessons from the postcongress work, and to define the party's next tasks.

Now we are even more firmly convinced that at the congress we made the correct decisions corresponding to the crucial nature of the present time. These decisions are called upon to play a particular role in the destiny of the country and of socialism as a whole, and this, of course, will have far-reaching consequences for all world development. We are also more fully and more specifically aware of the scale and depth of the transformations launched on the party's initiative and of the various complications which still have to be overcome. We can also perceive better our opportunities, both present and potential.

There is unflagging interest in the congress abroad. It is particularly deep in the socialist countries. The congress decisions have become an effective stimulus in the struggle for peace and social progress. Our friends' approval and support convince us of the correctness of the course we have chosen and remind us of the lofty responsibility for its consistent and purposeful implementation.

Realistically minded people in the nonsocialist part of the world as a whole were able to see yet again that our large-scale plans for socioeconomic developments are inseparably linked with a foreign policy aimed at building peace and all-round international cooperation.

Our plans were received in a different fashion by the forces of militarism and aggression headed by U.S. reactionary circles. Now they are waging with increased hostility a struggle against the Soviet initiatives to improve the international situation and to shape international relations which would correspond to the nature of the nuclear-space age.



#### IV.

##### On the Results of the Budapest Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee

Comrades. Allow all men now to move to the second item on the plenary meeting's agenda.

The documents of the recent regular meeting of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty member countries have been published. What would one like to say about the importance of the PCC meeting? First of all, it must be pointed out that the meeting was held immediately after a number of congresses of fraternal parties. So, the foreign policy guidelines of the supreme party forums became, naturally, the focus of collective discussion. That gave a larger-scale character to the meeting and pre-determined the emphasis on matters of strategic, global nature.

It was particularly emphasized that the course of accelerating socioeconomic development taken by our party and by other fraternal parties aroused a broad international response and will be having an increasing effect, as it is implemented, on the entire course of world social development. It was pointed out that this is precisely what worries our class adversary most of all.

There was an exchange of views on the course of events in Europe and in the international arena over the period of time that had passed since the Sofia PCC meeting and the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva. All comrades were unanimous that the situation remained complex and that there were no grounds so far to speak of relaxation of tension.

You know about the steps that we took to secure the positive line originated in Geneva would not disappear or get dissolved in the whirlpool of international life. They include a concrete plan for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the turn of the century, a moratorium on nuclear explosions, and proposals on the destruction of chemical weapons. Our initiatives have worked and will continue to work for an improvement of the international climate.

But it is precisely the prospect for relaxation of tension that is being viewed in the West and, first of all, by the reactionary ruling upper crust in the United States, as a threat to their interests. The most recent weeks and months have seen a series of rejections of Soviet proposals on cardinal matters of present-day development: the refusal to end nuclear tests, the reunification of the existing agreements on strategic arms, and the refusal to keep outer space weapon-free. Added to that should be unwillingness to conduct negotiations in good faith in Geneva and Vienna.

Presumptuous disregard for the interests of all countries of Europe, and not only of Europe, manifested itself in Washington's actions in Bern where, as a result of them, the reaching of important accords on human rights was frustrated.

It is only through total non-acceptance of present-day realities that one can explain the banking of the U.S. leaders on brute force, on the nuclear fist, on terrorist piracy profusely blended with ideological intolerance and hatred. They continue to assess the present-day world situation in terms of "star wars" and nuclear warheads, the arms race and militarist blackmail, thus undermining ever more the security of the entire world and of their own country.

It is becoming even more apparent that the true threat to U.S. security emanates not from external forces. The threat, and a substantial one at that, is being posed by that country's military-political elite, its adventuristic behavior in the world arena.

The 27th CPSU Congress proposed sensible ways of resolving the problems facing mankind. Our objectives are clear in the extreme. They are: acceleration of the country's social and economic development, broad international cooperation that benefits all, disarmament and elimination of nuclear weapons, and peace for mankind. Hence our political course both inside the country and in the international arena. The more people on earth who know the truth about the Soviet Union's policy, the more supporters of this course emerge.

This is precisely what is worrying the ruling circles of imperialism. They regard the Soviet initiatives as a formidable obstacle in the way of the implementation of their imperial designs aimed at world domination and social revenge. Unable to offer the peoples a peaceful, historical alternative that would meet the interests of all, they are whipping up militarist psychoses which they think can freeze historical progress and help them preserve economic and political power. Moreover, they pin hopes on the possibility, however illusory, of hindering the implementation of our plans, impeding the development of the socialist countries, pushing us off from the course of the 27th CPSU Congress, and keeping us in the constraints of the arms' race.

It stands to reason, comrades, that the prime aim of our foreign policy should be the frustration of these dangerous plans. The Soviet Union will further persistently implement its initiatives that accord with the cherished hopes of our people, all peoples in the world. But we will never allow a nuclear-missile superiority of the United States. And here our Leninist foreign policy course, our defense might rest on the reliable basis of the strategy of accelerating socio-economic development that was worked out by the party and got its detailed reflection in the draft 12th 5-Year Plan that we are discussing.

The destiny of peace must not be handed over to imperialism, we must not allow the imperialist reaction to succeed in imposing a strengthening of the military-political confrontation on mankind. This would signify only one thing -- sliding down to nuclear war. This conclusion was heard in the speeches of all the participants in the PCC meeting. We discussed with our friends the situation taking shape at the Geneva talks with the United States.

The following question has now arisen: Should we continue marking time at the Geneva Talks, alitercating with the Americans, something that fully suits them, or search for new approaches, making it possible to clear the road to a reduction of nuclear arms? Having firmly decided to adhere to the course of searching practice for a mutually acceptable agreement in Geneva, we offered the Americans the following intermediate variant:

A. Agreement is reached to not withdraw from the ABM Treaty for at least the next 15 years. Work in the field of the SDI is limited to laboratory research, that is the threshold that the United States has already actually approached;

B. The strategic offensive arms (ICBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers) are limited by equal ceilings. In this case the question of medium-range weapons reaching the territory of the other side, including long-range, land-based cruise missiles, is solved separately.

This variant demonstrates once again the Soviet Union's striving for mutually acceptable accord. Although, of course, we would have preferred to attain agreement at once on a radical, 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive arms capable of reaching each other's territory.

We have also submitted a draft agreement on medium-range missiles in Europe. We agreed that in the event of a zero ratio between the Soviet Union and the United States in this type of arms, the British and French nuclear missiles should remain in the European zone in their present number. We have also stated that we would not increase the number of medium-range missiles in Asia.

In other words, the Soviet Union has made new steps, facilitating the search for mutually acceptable accords at the Geneva talks. Time will show the attitude of the United States to this. In any case it should be clear: If the American side ignores our initiatives again this time, it will become obvious that the present U.S. Administration is engaged in an unseemly game in a most serious matter on which the future of mankind depends.

The problem of ending nuclear tests has acquired a special acuteness now. To a certain extent this is also a result of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. This accident showed that even a small ejection of radioactive substances brings misfortune and alarm to thousands of people.

As they expressed their sincere sympathy and offered their unselfish assistance to us, all honest people saw in this accident a much more serious danger.

They ask themselves and others: What will happen if the military atom gets out of control -- accidentally or with evil intent? An explosion even of one nuclear bomb would become a far more terrible tragedy for the peoples of many countries. This is what people on earth ponder ever more profoundly.

The United States of America is assuming the gravest responsibility to mankind by refusing to end nuclear testing and join the Soviet moratorium. The world is alarmed by U.S. behavior, but the seriousness of the situation also calls for doubling and tripling the effort in favor of ending all nuclear tests and eliminating nuclear weapons.

The misfortune of Chernobyl is our misfortune. We will be able to overcome it. We thank everyone for their sympathy and assistance in connection with the incident -- our thanks are sincere and profound.

But let Chernobyl, as well as other instances when the atom stopped obeying man, serve as a stern warning to those who do not yet fully realize the nuclear menace looming over the world, who still regard nuclear weapons as a means of politics.

I would like to dwell separately on the new Soviet-American summit meeting. We are in favour of dialogue with Washington.

But how is the U.S. Administration acting? It is sabotaging the disarmament talks and has declared its intention not to comply with SALT II saying it was "dead"! Actions still further aggravating the international situation are being undertaken throughout the world. We are not slamming the doors shut: A new meeting with the U.S. President is possible. But, clearly, it requires an atmosphere that would open up prospects for reaching real agreements. We have said this to President Reagan and to the entire world. This position evokes understanding among friends.

The legitimate question arises: Do they in Washington want a new meeting? Or is the talk about it merely an attempt to delude world public opinion?

The PCC meetings' significance is largely determined, as is known, by the new initiatives they advance. Central to the Budapest meeting was the jointly-elaborated, detailed proposal for reducing conventional armaments and armed forces in all of Europe -- from the Atlantic to the Urals. Its content is known to you -- the point at issue is the 25 percent reduction of the armed forces of both sides in the coming years. It discards the speculative reasoning that nuclear disarmament in Europe, while preserving at the current level conventional armed forces, would be to the disadvantage of the West European states. Indicatively, the West has not found it possible to dismiss the proposal off-hand.

Several other important initiatives were agreed on in Budapest. The idea was approved to pool the efforts of all countries to develop the peaceful use of outer space and create a special international organization for these purposes, set out before the meeting during the speech in Csepel. This idea already found its expression in the proposal sent to the U.N. general secretary. The question of the continued advancement of the concept of establishing a comprehensive system of international security was discussed.

Special mention should be made of the lively, constructive atmosphere of the Budapest meeting.

All comrades -- and these are the signs of the time -- viewed the concrete issues in the light of the common foreign policy strategy of the allied socialist states. In brief, Budapest revealed the unity and creative cooperation that is enriching socialism's international policy and is lending greater weight to its actions in the world arena.

All participants in the conference noted with satisfaction that the work of the supreme body of the Warsaw Treaty became more dynamic and prompt. The decisions adopted in Budapest are a major contribution of the socialist countries to the struggle for improving the international situation.

In general, comrades, we have and will continue to apply maximum efforts to preserve and consolidate peace. In this noble undertaking, we experience active support for our position from friends, all peace-loving forces on earth.

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CSO: 5200/1429



**U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS**

**TASS ON GORBACHEV 16 JUNE SPEECH: WARHEAD TOTALS SPECIFIED**

LD161738 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 16 Jun 86

[Excerpts] Moscow, 16 Jun (TASS)—A tendency for accelerating the growth rate of the Soviet economy has emerged in the three months since the 27th CPSU Congress, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has said today in his report to the plenary meeting of the party Central Committee, which is discussing the Draft Plan of the Economic and Social Development of the Country for 1986-1990 on the eve of a session of the Soviet Parliament (due to open on 18 June).

Analyzing the international situation, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out in the report that the 27th congress of the CPSU "suggested reasonable ways of solving the problems that had arisen before mankind". The ruling circles of imperialism, being unable to offer to the peoples a peaceful historical alternative, are drumming up militarist hysteria which, according to their plan, may help them to retain economic and political power. They try to push the Soviet Union off the course outlined by the 27th congress and to keep it within the constraints of the arms race. It must be the principal goal of the foreign policy of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev stated, "to frustrate those dangerous plans."

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee elucidated the situation which is taking shape at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva. He said the Soviet Union had made new steps facilitating the search for mutually acceptable solutions -- it had suggested that the sides agree on non-withdrawal from the ABM treaty in the course of at least fifteen years, and limit the SDI-related research to the level of laboratory tests; limit strategic offensive arms to equal levels -- 1,600 units on each side; the aggregate number of nuclear warheads should not exceed 8,000. The question of medium-range weapons capable of reaching the territory of the other side, including that of long-range cruise missiles, could be solved separately.

"If the American side ignores, this time as well, our initiatives, it will become clear that the present U.S. Administration is playing an unseemly game in the most serious question on which determines the future of mankind," Gorbachev said.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said that the U.S. "is assuming the gravest responsibility to mankind by refusing to end nuclear testing and join the Soviet moratorium."

On the question of a new Soviet-American summit meeting, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said that it was possible but required "an atmosphere that would



open up prospects for reaching real agreements." The U.S. administration's actions, however, compel one to doubt that they in the U.S. want a new meeting.

Corbachev said further that central to the Budapest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee was the jointly-elaborated proposal for cutting conventional armaments and armed forces in all of Europe -- from the Atlantic to the Urals. The Soviet idea for pooling the efforts of all countries for the peaceful use of outer space, for creating a special international organization for these purposes was approved in Budapest.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee described the Budapest decisions as "a major contribution of the socialist countries to the struggle for improving the international situation."

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CSO: 5200/1434

## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### SOVIET MILITARY JOURNAL ASSAILS U.S. ATTITUDE

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 1, Jan 86 pp 9-14

[Editorial: "In the Interests of Peace and People's Security"]

[Text] The new-year's chime of Kremlin bells proclaims the coming of 1986--the first year of the 12th Five-Year Plan--into its own. The plans of 1986 graphically demonstrate the peaceful and constructive nature of the Soviet people's concerns.

In a report at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade M. S. Gorbachev emphasized that our foreign policy aspirations and the international policy of the Soviet state also are closely connected with the peaceful direction of domestic policy. The international situation that has taken shape and results of the Soviet-American meeting in Geneva at the highest level were examined thoroughly at it and even earlier at a meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. It was noted that during the current period of great change in international relations under conditions when mankind is faced with choosing between survival and the threat of destruction, the Soviet-American meeting became the most important event on the international scene, and it was necessary and useful.

The present crucial period in international relations requires from all people, especially from the leaders of the leading powers, a clear realization of the extraordinary nature of the impending danger for the world in the event of further acceleration of the arms race. Where will our planet go next--towards peace or war?

"THE MOST CRITICAL PROBLEM FACING MANKIND RIGHT NOW," indicated in the draft of the new version of the CPSU program, "IS THE PROBLEM OF WAR AND PEACE." And, while determining the tasks of socialist foreign policy, the party states: "There is no higher and more crucial mission than to protect and strengthen peace and to restrain the forces of aggression and militarism in the name of life of present and succeeding generations. A WORLD WITHOUT WARS AND WITHOUT WEAPONS IS THE IDEAL OF SOCIALISM."

Solution of this most critical problem requires the West's political figures' and statesmen's recomprehending notions that remain in being which are in contradiction with requirements of the time and bringing many usual approaches,

including in the military and political areas, into complete conformity with today's realities. Only through joint efforts can a better and safer world be built, progress ensured, and normalization of the international situation be accomplished to a considerable extent.

Our country's foreign policy is a fundamental, consistent and courageous policy that takes the initiative, a policy of unity of word and deed. Finally, our policy is an open and public one. All these features of our peaceable foreign policy course recently were once again demonstrated with complete lucidity and depth during the course of M. S. Gorbachev's visit to Paris and his meeting in Geneva with the President of the United States.

The actions of imperialism have brought mankind to a threshold like this beyond which unpredictable, uncontrollable development [razvitiye] can begin. American politicians and the military industrial complex are continuing the arms race. Turn after turn its dangerous spiral is being transferred to space. The objective of a similar course and its original intention are absolutely clear--the next time to attempt to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries as a whole. The industrial superiority supposedly achieved by the United States--which they say will permit it to make leaps in the creation [sozdaniye] of new types of weapons, and first of all, space types--is being counted on this time. A total mobilization of large-scale scientific and industrial resources was announced by the American administration for achieving not only its own stated objectives, but also those of its allies.

The sonorous designation "strategic defense initiative" (SDI) was devised for an ambitious program of militarizing space. But what is concealed behind these pompous words? Officially, it's research aimed at creating [sozdaniye] an effective antimissile defense for the United States supposedly against a nuclear missile strike on the part of the Soviet Union. Numerous representatives of the U. S. administration and the space weapons program director himself General Abrahamson repeatedly attempted to show its "exceptionally peaceful, defensive nature."

But you know there are no "star wars" plans in our country that are similar to the American ones. From whom do they intend to defend themselves overseas? And the military and political leaders of the United States and the "star wars" program directors understand well that aggression will never follow on the part of the Soviet Union.

It's quite obvious that the creation [sozdaniye] of a new multiechelon PRO [antimissile defense] system with space strike weapons and simultaneous improvement of strategic offensive forces of the United States are being done in order to have the opportunity through a preemptive strike to destroy the Soviet Union, and then to protect itself from a retaliatory, supposedly reduced strike by Soviet strategic nuclear forces. General Henry, commander of the U. S. Air Force space group, acknowledged that space for the United States is "first and foremost a theater of military operations."

In all the Pentagon has invested over \$2 billion, which are allocated to more than 1,500 contracts, in SDI operations. A total of 60 percent of these funds

was given to such most important contractors as "Boeing," "Rockwell," "McDonnell Douglas," and "Lockheed" who at the same time are the basic American producers of other weapons. These orders accumulate in the states of Alabama and Washington. But the aerospace giants of California--the ancestral lands of the White House boss--snatch the largest sum. Right now the creators of SDI want to do everything by 1988--the time of departure of this program's main advocate from the deck of the American ship of state--to give it such an acceleration that it's impossible to stop, even if the "star wars" concept were to be recognized as insufficiently valid in a military respect.

That's precisely why the large military business and its expeditors in the state organization, who are getting rich on Pentagon orders, have shown and are showing substantial anxiety in connection with the possibility of achieving Soviet-American agreement on strategic weapons. Ultraconservative circles in the United States attempted, if not to wreck, then to devalue the Geneva dialogue, playing on the absence of a unified approach to the problems of this dialogue in the Washington administration itself. And following Geneva, as speeches of their leadership showed, they don't intend to give up their "star wars" plans in the United States.

But overseas they forget one simple truth--in the face of a nuclear space threat the Soviet Union will not sit idle. It will do everything possible to wreck the adventurist plans of madmen. And without question they will be wrecked. As this has already occurred more than once in the past, we'll find an answer.

At the threshold of the meeting at the highest level, the Soviet leadership came forward with a number of new, exceptionally important initiatives. The purpose of them consists of leading the development [razvitiye] of international relations to another road--the path of peaceful cooperation, stopping the arms race, beginning the reduction of nuclear weapons, and in the final analysis eliminating them.

The essence of the Soviet initiatives is well-known. The question concerns the proposal that was made at the Geneva negotiations on nuclear and space weapons to completely ban space strike weapons for both sides and to reduce really drastically, by 50 percent, their nuclear weapons that reach each other's territories, and on the basis of equality and identical security to limit the number of nuclear warheads for each country to no more than 6,000.

Right along with this we propose to the United States to abandon a program of creating [sozdaniye] and deploying [razvertyvaniye] new strategic offensive weapons (SNV), to limit to the maximum extent possible the modernization of existing SNV, to completely ban long-range cruise missiles of all kinds of basing, to stop all studies on creating [sozdaniye] space strike weapons, to cease testing and deployment [razvertyvaniye] of new kinds and types of nuclear weapons, to cease deployment [razvertyvaniye] of medium-range missiles in Europe, and to establish a mutual moratorium on any nuclear explosions. The USSR proposes on a mutual basis by an agreed date to remove from operational readiness and dismantle a certain percentage or number of strategic offensive weapons of the parties (for example, to dismantle 200-300 MBR [intercontinental ballistic missiles] each).

For purposes of facilitating agreement concerning their quickest mutual reduction, our country proposed to consider the question of an agreement on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe separately, without a direct connection with the problem of space and strategic weapons. An approach like this responds to the desires of the West Europeans, while taking into consideration their security interests in the most direct manner.

The Soviet Union proposed to France and England, who also possess nuclear weapons, a direct dialogue on the question of the European balance of nuclear forces in order to try to find an acceptable way out through joint efforts. We're taking into consideration the specific character of the position of these countries; we're ready to consider their security interests. Therefore, we're not raising a question on reducing the French and English nuclear potentials. But, however, one must face the realities. The fact remains that France and England already have imposing nuclear weapons at their disposal. This potential is being built up rapidly and improved. Under conditions like these the most sensible path is to begin direct discussion of the above-mentioned problems on a bilateral basis and to be engaged in joint searches for a way out of the deadlock.

As Comrade M. S. Gorbachev stated on this, our country has reduced the number of SS-20 missiles that it has on operational readiness in its European zone to 243, i. e. the number that conforms precisely to the June 1984 level when the implementation of our retaliatory measures was begun in connection with the provocative deployment of "Pershings" and cruise missiles in Europe by the Americans.

The importance of these steps is indisputable. However, in order to assess them completely to conclusion it's necessary to consider the new Soviet initiatives in a context with the proposals that were made earlier by the Soviet Union and the actions that were undertaken by it. The CPSU and the Soviet state already have undertaken a number of unilateral steps, having shown by this the example of a responsible approach to the problems of war and peace, an example of the fact that our words and deeds aren't at variance.

In a unilateral manner the USSR renounced using nuclear weapons first. All nuclear explosions were discontinued in a unilateral manner. A moratorium on implementing retaliatory measures in Europe was declared in a unilateral manner. It was announced to the entire world that the Soviet Union isn't taking the first step in space with weapons. There are no such actions for which we wouldn't be prepared in order to stop the arms race and eliminate nuclear weapons in general.

The Soviet Union also is in favor of banning and eliminating other types of weapons of mass destruction, first and foremost chemical ones. We propose to reduce the armed forces and decrease the military expenditures of states, having assigned the released funds for social purposes, including for rendering assistance to people who have been liberated from the colonialism of countries. The USSR is in favor of reliable political methods for resolving all existing regional conflicts so that this conforms to the vital interests of people and, consequently, the interests of universal peace too.



Not "star wars," but peace under the stars; not military confrontation, but peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation in the interests of mankind--such is our program and such are our practical activities too. Striving to look for security just for itself and for its allies is alien to the Soviet Union. Security in the nuclear age can be universal only.

The Soviet-American meeting in Geneva at the end of November 1985 became the culmination of the Soviet Union's efforts in the name of preserving peace. This was the first meeting at the highest level during the last 6 1/2 years! Such a long absence itself of meetings at a level like this even speaks about the fact that relations between our countries during recent years are in an abnormal state, and what is more, a dangerous one. On whom the responsibility for this rests is well-known. Not only Soviet and American, but also people of other countries associated with the Geneva meeting hopes for strengthening peace and greater security and a turn for the better in international affairs. There's no need to speak about the importance of personal contacts of the USSR and U. S. leaders. The experience of the 1970's proved this--although not in everything, but they justified people's expectations.

Of course, radical differences in the foreign policy and socioeconomic systems of the two countries do not disappear as a result of meetings. But the political distance that separates us can and must be shortened. Through its consistent, purposeful steps the Soviet Union created an appropriate international atmosphere for the Geneva meeting.

Of course, domestic political considerations also played not a final role in R. Reagan's decision to go to such a meeting. He couldn't help but listen to the criticism in the U. S. itself of political figures of the most diverse shades and leaders of numerous public and pacifist organizations who accused him of an unwillingness and inability in contrast to all previous presidents, beginning with Roosevelt, to conduct affairs with the Soviet leaders. And, you know, R. Reagan seriously expects to go down in history as the "savior of the world." In Washington they also have taken into account the fact that as early as within a year so-called intervening elections will take place in the U. S. and new aspirants to the seat in the White House will appear. And the maintenance of direct contacts with the Soviet leader is also a propaganda bridge for Reagan that can preserve interest in him among broad masses of the American public.

The time that has passed since the meeting makes it possible to draw an unequivocal conclusion: although the number of weapons in the world hasn't decreased, the dialogue in Geneva became the basis for strengthening security and the beginning of the path to understanding. And this is in spite of the fact that the talks weren't simply frank, but sharp; at individual moments they were extraordinarily sharp. But indeed such talks--face-to-face talks--also made it possible to discuss a wide range of problems. The conversation proceeded in political language, open and direct, and that was of vital importance for results of the meeting.

M. S. Gorbachev presented to the President a Soviet assessment of the world situation. The problem of war and peace is a priority and vital one that

infringes upon the interests of all of us who live on the earth. Indeed it has advanced to the center of world politics and in no way is a solution being obtained to escape from it. Under present conditions the question already concerns not only the opposition of two social systems, but also the choice between survival and mutual destruction.

You know, it's a fact that it was very difficult for us to start a productive dialogue and negotiations on matters of stopping the arms race and nuclear disarmament. Tomorrow it will be even more difficult to do. Matters of war and peace, stopping the arms race on the earth, and banning it in space became the pivot of the meeting in Geneva, although some people intentionally sought to push them into the political shadow and confine themselves to nothing particularly except obligatory small talk by the fireplace.

Of course, it's necessary to be realists and say frankly: we weren't successful at this meeting in finding a solution to problems connected with the task of stopping the arms race and strengthening peace. Major differences on fundamental questions continue to remain between the sides. The persistent unwillingness of the U. S. administration to stop practical steps in implementing SDI nullified the possibility of achieving visible results and limiting weapons in other areas. As a whole this was a manifestation of the White House's distinct unpreparedness for a serious and businesslike conversation in Geneva on central matters of Soviet-American relations.

In terms of results of the meeting we succeeded in coming to an agreement on a joint Soviet-American statement. Its central position is that the sides, realizing the special responsibility of the USSR and the U. S. in the matter of preserving peace, declared that a nuclear war must never be unleashed and there can be no winners in it. They also emphasized the importance of preventing any war--nuclear or conventional--between them. Neither one of the sides will seek to achieve military superiority.

The Soviet Union and the United States agreed that the work at negotiations on nuclear and space weapons can be accelerated in order that tasks jointly set in January 1985 may be accomplished, and precisely the following: prevent an arms race in space and stop it on earth, limit and reduce nuclear weapons, and strengthen strategic stability. Other urgent problems on limiting and reducing weapons and the aspects of bilateral Soviet-American relations also were examined.

Upon conclusion of the meeting M. S. Gorbachev held a press conference in Geneva at which he summed up some preliminary results. The political and propaganda importance of this speech can hardly be exaggerated. The press conference was broadcast live on television not only of the Soviet Union, but also of many countries of Western Europe and the United States. Accordingly, the Soviet leader's assessments reached the broadest public masses in various countries and in a substantial way influenced the formation of world public opinion.

A meeting of the highest leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states took place in Prague immediately following the Soviet-American meeting. It occupied a by no means ordinary place among the major political events of 1985. First of all

because of the role that the socialist countries of Europe who are joined in a defensive military and political alliance are playing in European and world affairs. This meeting assumed what seemed like competition with a conference of the Political Consultative Committee (PKK) [of the Warsaw Pact] in Sofia. Also the readiness that was confirmed by participants of the meeting in Prague henceforth to do all that is in their power for a turn for the better in European and world affairs and the resolve that was unanimously expressed by them to strengthen the unity and solidarity of fraternal countries, and their class solidarity and interaction in all areas of cooperation, are of fundamental importance.

Leaders of fraternal parties and countries were informed about the results of the Soviet-American meeting at the highest level in Geneva. They expressed complete support of the constructive positions presented by the Soviet leader at the negotiations with the U. S. President in the spirit of agreements that were recorded in a 23 October 1985 statement of the Warsaw Pact member states.

The fraternal countries of socialism are expressing their approach to international problems in actions and specific proposals and in a precise and clear system of priorities. They're also ready henceforth to act in concord and undertake all that is in their power to achieve a turn for the better in European and world affairs. Indeed, you know, the economic and defense power of the USSR and all Warsaw Pact member states and their coordinated foreign policy are a powerful obstacle on the path of the forces of aggression and war.

In connection with the military threat and propelling pressure of the aggressive circles of imperialism, the countries of socialist cooperation will not waive the interests of their own security and they won't permit military superiority of the U. S. and NATO over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact states.

The armed forces of the USSR are always on the alert in a close military alliance with fraternal armies. The exalted duty of soldiers is to strengthen combat readiness and not to relax vigilance in the face of imperialism's aggressive preparations. This is necessary in the name of peace and security of the fatherland, our friends and allies, and all people of the earth who want to live under peaceful stars.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

USSR SAID TO OFFER COMPROMISE ON STRATEGIC, ABM WEAPONS

AU141338 Paris AFP in English 1244 GMT 14 Jun 86

[Text] Bonn, June 14 (AFP) -- The Soviet Union has proposed a compromise on cuts in strategic nuclear arms contingent on a U.S. commitment to extend for 15 to 20 years a treaty freezing development of anti-missile missiles, Soviet diplomatic sources said here Saturday.

The new proposal, made at disarmament talks in Geneva last Tuesday, were discussed here Friday by chief Soviet negotiator Victor Karpov, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Horst Teltschik, diplomatic advisor to Chancellor Helmut Kohl, they said.

It calls for a 30 percent cut in strategic nuclear systems as an interim step before a 50 percent reduction previously proposed by the Soviets and rejected by the United States.

Nuclear missiles would be reduced to 1,680 by the United States and to 1,250 by the Soviet Union, in a way that would assure parity in total number of warheads possessed by each country, the sources here said.

Moscow at the same time reiterated its proposals that all U.S. and Soviet intermediate range missiles on European soil be dismantled, without increase in the number of missiles in Asia, those maintained in Europe by U.S. Atlantic allies France and Britain. [sentence as received]

The Soviet sources said the Soviet Union had made concessions on the West's "tactical-operational systems," and declared itself ready to negotiate an accord to succeed the SALT-2 treaty which Washington has said it no longer recognizes.

After his talks with Mr. Genscher and Mr. Teltschik, Mr Karpov told a press conference he deplored the U.S. failure to react to the latest Soviet proposals. He said he was pessimistic for success in the Geneva talks because the only U.S. response to Soviet proposals were geared to the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative.

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CSO: 5200/1428



10 July 1986

## SALT/START ISSUES

## XINHUA REPORT: SALT II TREATY IN DANGER OF 'DISINTEGRATION'

OW101312 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1313 GMT 9 Jun 86

[By reporter Ju Mengjun]

[Text] Beijing, 9 Jun (XINHUA) -- XINHUA Roundup: USSR-U.S. Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty in Danger of Disintegration.

There has been no progress in USSR-U.S. Geneva arms control talks, and a few agreements concerning arms control between the two countries -- the most important of which being the second stage Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT II] -- are also in danger of disintegration. The U.S. authorities have said they will no longer observe this treaty. The Soviet Union has categorically declared that it will not be bound by the treaty if Reagan puts the decision into practice.

The SALT II Treaty was signed in Vienna in June 1979 by then Soviet leader Brezhnev and former U.S. President Carter. The treaty was valid until 31 December 1985. But according to provisions, the treaty is automatically extended if neither party declares it void. The treaty has somewhat limited the two countries' offensive strategic weapons. For instance, each side is limited to 1,320 MIRV ballistic missiles and strategic weapons carriers such as heavy bombers equipped with such missiles. It allows for improving existing strategic weapons but places strict limitations on the development of new type weapons, allowing each side to produce and deploy one type of new strategic missile.

All along, the treaty has not been approved by the U.S. Congress because of the Soviet armed intervention into Afghanistan toward the end of 1979. After his inauguration as U.S. President in January 1981, Reagan held that SALT II had a "fatal flaw." However, considering possible implications, he said he would still abide by the treaty.

For several years, the Soviet Union and the United States have been locked in endless arguments over the treaty, accusing each other of violations. The United States has accused the Soviet Union of not observing the limitation clause on research and deployment of only one type of new intercontinental ballistic missile, saying the Soviet Union has deployed new SS-25 intercontinental ballistic missiles. It has also accused the Soviet Union of sabotaging stipulation on verification because the latter has converted remote measuring data of missile tests into secret code, making it difficult for the United States to verify Soviet missile tests. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has categorically said that the "SS-25" missile is "nonexistent" and that the alleged missile referred to by the West is, as a matter of fact, an improved



version of the SS-12; hence it does not fall within the scope of limitations. It has thrown back the accusation, saying the United States has violated the treaty by developing a second type of Midget, a new intercontinental ballistic missile. It sees U.S. deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe as a violation of clause 12 of the treaty. In brief, such verbal exchanges have been going on constantly, and there is no end in sight.

Now, the U.S. Government is prepared to unilaterally scrap the treaty, citing as its reason, Soviet noncompliance with SALT II. On 27 May, Reagan declared that the United States would not be bound by the treaty later this year, and by that time, the number of B-52 bombers equipped with cruise missiles would exceed the treaty limitations. Defense Secretary Weinberger said it more to the point; he said the United States would probably break the limit of 1,320 strategic missile launchers as stipulated in the treaty by August or September this year. They note that the Soviet Union is "leading in time" in developing nuclear strength. Only by eliminating "man-made limitations" in the SALT II Treaty can the United States restore the "full strength of deterrence."

The Soviet Union has reacted strongly to the Reagan administration decision. On 31 May, the Soviet Government issued a statement saying it would not "stand idly by." Akhromeyev, chief of General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, said on 4 June that "the Soviet Union will find a sufficient and effective countermeasure" if the U.S. deploys strategic weapons exceeding the treaty limitations. The Soviet Union has also warned that if the United States scraps the treaty, it would affect the entire USSR-U.S. relations, this year's scheduled summit meeting, and the USSR-U.S. Geneva talks.

Like all other USSR-U.S. arms treaties, the SALT II Treaty has not, in the past 7 years, put a real stop to the nuclear arms race between the two countries. But, it is better than nothing. At least it has verbal restrictions. Therefore, Reagan's decision has met with opposition or reservations from a large number of people in the country and from almost all U.S. allies. People are concerned that disintegration of the treaty will be like adding fuel to the fire and that the unchecked arms race between the two superpowers will be even harder to control.

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CSO: 5200/4041

## SALT/START ISSUES

### BEIJING REVIEW: SALT II NEW FOCUS OF DISPUTE

Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English Vol 29 No 24, 16 Jun 86 p 13

[Text]

**H**aggling over nuclear disarmament for years, the two superpowers have recently fallen into a new quarrel about the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), thus raising doubts about the prospect of a Soviet-US summit later this year.

SALT II was signed by the late Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and former US President Jimmy Carter in 1979 after eight years of negotiations. It limits the number of missiles capable of carrying multiple warheads in each country's arsenal to 1,200, and sets a ceiling of 1,320 on the number of air-launched cruise missiles for each side.

After the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in late 1979, the US Senate refused to ratify the SALT II agreement.

The current dispute was set off on May 27 when US President Ronald Reagan announced that since the Soviets frequently had violated the treaty, the United States would take the "nature and magnitude" of the Soviet threat as the starting point in its development of nuclear forces instead of following the restrictions set up by SALT II. But, he said, the policy would not be put into effect for the

time being and whether the United States would adhere to the treaty depended on Soviet behaviour in the following months.

Reagan has been a vocal opponent to the treaty, calling it "fatally flawed" and an agreement that does nothing for the United States.

However, because of domestic pressure and that of US allies and differences within his administration, Reagan had declared that the United States would not undercut this treaty as long as the Soviet Union abided by it.

In a May 28 commentary, the Soviet official news agency TASS charged the United States with harbouring a scheme to "ensure unilateral military advantage." Some Kremlin officials declared that the Soviet Union would take necessary countermeasures to defend itself and its allies if the White House abandoned SALT II. They warned that the upcoming Soviet-American summit would be jeopardized as long as Washington maintained its hard stand against the SALT II treaty.

Moscow warned in a sharply worded statement that the Soviet Union no longer would be bound by the two SALT treaties and

would take necessary measures to prevent the strategic equilibrium from being damaged once Reagan put his May 27 decision into effect.

There are reservations both in the United States and among its West European allies about the shift in US policy. Robert McNamara, former US defence secretary, pointed out that to undermine SALT II would mean abandoning the arms control structure established by four US presidents in the last 20 years, and as some experts have said, would spark a surge in the arms race. During a meeting of NATO foreign ministers that closed May 30, almost all the West European representatives demanded Washington reconsider its SALT stand.

Meanwhile, many US congressmen have sounded warnings of harmful consequences due to the abandonment of the treaty. Some of them are busy with introducing new amendments to prohibit the use of funds for nuclear weapons.

Kenneth Adelman, director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, however, said there was still room to change the current situation if the Soviet Union took constructive steps on arms control during the next few months.

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CSO: 5200/4044

SALT/START ISSUES

KOREAN DAILY EXPRESSES 'GRAVE CONCERN' OVER U.S. MOVES ON SALT II

SK150055 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 15 Jun 86 p 4

[Editorial: "Fate of SALT II"]

[Text] U.S. President Ronald Reagan, who has discredited the SALT II pact as "fatally flawed" ever since he campaigned for the White House back in 1980, announced last week his readiness to scrap the strategic arms limitation treaty in the face of what he said were continual violations by the Soviet Union.

For the present, there seems to be some confusion about Washington's precise position on the disputed arms control treaty. While a White House spokesman elaborated on the president's remarks by bluntly saying, "SALT is dead and no longer exists," Secretary of State George Shultz tried over the weekend to obscure the verdict.

Whatever the real case may be, the Reagan administration has apparently decided to risk the burying of the 1979 treaty, to which the two superpowers have thus far adhered, though it had never been ratified by the U.S. Senate.

It may be presumed that Washington has opted(?) for such a hardline threat to pressure Moscow to discontinue its military buildup and come to agree on a new superpower arms reduction package. In fact, Mr Reagan has said that his [word indistinct] conclude a new treaty that, replacing the SALT II accord, would reduce weapons on both sides without giving either an advantage.

However(?), the stark reality is that no such new pact is presently in sight, despite numerous overtures presented by each side and on-and-off bilateral negotiations, including a summit meeting last November.

Among the proposals made by the Reagan administration were the so-called "zero option" missile solution, a 30 percent cut in nuclear missiles and [word indistinct], and a bid for START talks, breaking with the SALT's "limitation" concept to stress "reduction" of strategic arms.

Offers from Moscow, particularly following Mikhail Gorbachev's ascent to power 15 months ago, included a three-stage plan to destroy all nuclear weapons before the year 2000 and, more recently, a plan to make a 40 percent cut in strategic nuclear warheads.

Probably referring to the latest Soviet bid, the White House said last week that it [word indistinct] studying a new proposal from Moscow. But, in view of the poor records of U.S.-Soviet negotiations during the past several years, one can hardly be sure of a breakthrough forthcoming on arms control--and, at that, in time for a sort of deadline set by Washington at the latter part of this year.

If the Reagan administration adopted the threat to balk the treaty as a formidable leverage against Moscow in facilitating a new arms reduction treaty, diplomatic efforts to that end--and, for that matter, to improve overall East-West relations--should be stepped up.

We join the world community in expressing grave concern about a possible situation in which the SALT II, however flawed and fragile, is scrapped without any substitute or a corresponding ground rule to restrain the arms race--a situation that must be averted.

/8918

CSO: 4100/166

## INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES

### SOVIET ARMY PAPER ON NUCLEAR ARMS, EUROPEAN SECURITY

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by A. Yevgenyev, candidate of historical sciences under the rubric "Peace Policy vs. War Policy : "Europe's Historic Chance"]

[Text] "We call for so organizing our common European home by our common efforts that all the peoples who inhabit it will feel secure in their national quarters." These words, which were sounded from the rostrum of the 27th CPSU Congress, testify to the acute concern of the Soviet Union for the state of European security. Like an alarm, they summon the peoples to the immediate solution of this burning problem.

As is known, contemporary Europe is an area of direct and closest opposition of the two military-political alliances--the Warsaw Pact organization and NATO. The total strength of the North Atlantic bloc's armed forces in Europe, for example, numbers more than 3 million people, 17,000 tanks (not counting those which are concentrated in European depots), more than 4,000 combat aircraft, and more than 7,000 nuclear warheads. Not wanting to acknowledge that Europe is too small and fragile for a policy of force, the members of the Atlantic Pact continue to lard the continent with ever newer and more dangerous types of weapons and ammunition. The emplacement of American first-strike nuclear missile systems here has brought the European peoples, and really the entire world, to the threshold of nuclear war where any accident, absurdity, or error may cause a death-dealing sandstorm capable of destroying every living thing on Earth.

At the same time, it should be considered that Europe is also a continent which more than any other gained peace through suffering and is predisposed toward detente and collaboration. Europeans have also accumulated the greatest experience in the attainment of mutually acceptable understandings which ensure correct, businesslike, and respectful relations between states. And the norms of these relations were worked out first and foremost on the European continent.

In this connection, it is appropriate to stress the permanent significance of the Helsinki agreements which have a long-term nature. The concluding statement of the Conference on Security and Collaboration in Europe of 1975 embodied all the positive experience acquired by the peoples of the continent. It reflected their will toward the strengthening of collaboration between East and West and the understanding of the necessity to observe those peace-loving principles upon which it should be built.



By the way, the fact that problems of security and collaboration in Europe were considered at the Helsinki conference in close interconnection is proper. They are actually inseparable and interconnected. It is not by chance that following the turn of Washington and its closest allies toward a policy of confrontation ensued their course toward the curtailing of collaboration in economic, scientific and technical, and humanitarian fields, that is, toward the rupturing of the material fabric of detente in Europe.

As regards the present situation in Europe, the continent faces a most important choice--either a continuation of instability, which is fraught with nuclear conflagration, or a reduction in the level of the military opposition and a return to detente and further progress along this path. This choice between what is prompted by reason and what leads to catastrophe should be bold and responsible.

It is precisely such an approach toward universal security as a whole and European in particular which is demonstrated by the Soviet Union. It proposes again the elimination of all nuclear weapons on the planet in this century. It is necessary to begin this process with Europe. "If, without dragging out and not burdening the matter with other problems, we could succeed in eliminating Soviet and American medium range missiles on our continent," noted M. S. Gorbachev, "we would perhaps unravel one of the difficult knots of present world policy and, in considerable measure, would clear the path toward a radical reduction in nuclear weapons and then their complete elimination."

The Soviet peace initiatives which were set forth in the Declaration of this 15 January define clear routes, reference points, and specific time periods for the destruction of all medium range ballistic and cruise missiles of the USSR and the United States in the European zone. In which regard, in striving to accelerate this process the USSR is ready, as was stressed at the 27th Congress, to solve the problem of medium range missiles in the European zone separately, outside direct connection with programs of strategic weapons and space. If American medium range missiles would be completely eliminated in Europe, the necessity would disappear for the further stay of Soviet operational-tactical missiles of increased range where they were based as a responsive measure to the deployment of American first-strike nuclear missile systems in Western Europe.

Soviet proposals for the step-by-step elimination of nuclear weapons also consider known official declarations that France and Great Britain will be ready to join in the process of nuclear disarmament only after a substantial reduction in the nuclear arsenals of the USSR and the United States. Therefore, a reduction in Soviet and American nuclear weapons alone is envisaged in the first stage. With this, the West European nuclear powers should assume the obligation not to increase their nuclear armaments quantitatively.

It would appear that this is the very time for Western Europe to utter its opinion. However, strange metamorphoses are discovered here. Take the Federal Republic of Germany as an example. Three years ago the chairman of the Christian Social Union, Strauss, declared that he, "with candle in hand," would accomplish a long pilgrimage on foot if "there were neither Soviet nor American missiles in Germany and Europe." But now, when the Soviet Union displays good will and takes a step in this direction, Strauss and those like him wail that "Europe will be left defenseless before the Soviet military might." Numerous facts show that other

leaders of Western Europe are also clearly losing enthusiasm in connection with specific Soviet proposals and are having recourse to stipulations and excuses,

In addition, in yielding to Washington's pressure the West European NATO countries are beginning gradually to join in American plans for the militarization of space. The United States' closest ally, Great Britain, became the first of them. Britain had signed the so-called "memorandum of mutual understanding," thereby consenting to participation in the "star wars" program at the interstate level. The governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy gave their agreement to the collaboration of their countries' private companies with the Pentagon in questions of realizing the "strategic defense initiative." Thus, the matter may assume an irreversible nature.

While it is not late it is extremely necessary to look for a workable solution which would guarantee against the transfer of the arms race to outer space. There can be no allowing the "star wars" program to be used both as a stimulus for a further arms race and as an obstruction in the path toward radical disarmament--such is the position of the Soviet Union. And it is finding support among many Europeans. "Realization of the SDI program," declared the prime minister of Greece, A. Papandreou, "will be the push toward an unrestrained arms race and, as a result, may lead to a 'nuclear winter' on the planet and to the disappearance of life. It is the duty of all governments, peoples, and peace movements to occupy a clear position on the problem of militarization of outer space."

Great significance for strengthening military-strategic stability in Europe would be had by the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the continent, for example, in the Balkans and in Northern Europe, as well as a corridor free of nuclear weapons in Central Europe. The Warsaw Pact states support proposals on this score.

They also favor the liberation of Europe from chemical weapons. Thus, the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic put forth the initiative for the creation, in Central Europe, of a zone free of chemical weapons. Its realization, unquestionably, would become a big step along the path to the complete elimination of the "weapon of silent death."

Our country attaches extremely important significance in the matter of strengthening European security to the success of the Vienna talks on a mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. By the efforts of the Warsaw Pact countries, conditions have now been created for the attainment of an understanding in Vienna. It is important not to lose the opportunity which has opened up.

Some movement in working out future arrangements is also evident at the Stockholm Conference on Measures to Strengthen Confidence, Security, and Disarmament in Europe. The main range of problems which could comprise the outlines of a mutually acceptable agreement has been traced out. Despite the resistance of the United States and some of its allies, the central place at the conference was occupied by a discussion of the key problems in strengthening confidence and security. Nevertheless, the representatives of the West continue to drag out the time in Stockholm. However, such an approach does not suit the peoples of

Europe. They are awaiting from the conference specific and large-scale measures on strengthening confidence and ensuring security and disarmament.

The historic chance of Europe and its future, it was said at the 27th CPSU Congress, is in the peaceful collaboration of the continent's states. There now are all conditions for this chance to become reality and for the estrangement of East and West, especially in questions of security and mutually advantageous collaboration, to be overcome. The Europeans can preserve their common home and make life in it better and more secure only by joint efforts, following the reasonable norms of international collaboration.

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CSO: 5200/1382

## EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

### TASS REPORTS ON JUNE REOPENING OF CDE TALKS

#### White House Statement Called 'Obstructionist'

LD100906 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 10 Jun 86

[Text] Washington June 10 TASS -- TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

The United States intends to keep to its obstructionist stand and block the efforts to achieve positive results at the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. This fact is most clearly seen from a statement by the presidential spokesman, which was circulated by the White House in view of the resumption of the work of this forum in Stockholm.

The statement says that the President attaches much importance to the Stockholm conference and also notes that its success could make a contribution to improving East-West relations. But how does Washington visualize the ways to achieve this "success"? It follows from the statement that no changes occurred in the stand of the U.S. Administration as compared to the previous rounds of the Stockholm conference. In this document, too, the White House touts once again the proposals which the United States would like to force, jointly with its NATO allies, on the participants in the conference.

The NATO proposals, which are immeasurably lop-sided and are meant to provide unilateral advantage to the West, do not envisage any limitation in the level and scope of military activity affecting security in that part of the world.

They in Washington do not even deem it necessary to conceal the bid to legalize the NATO espionage activity against the countries of the socialist community. The statement by the presidential spokesman contains rather frank pronouncements on this score.

In circumventing the truly acute problems of confidence and security in Europe, which have become urgent long ago, and blocking the efforts to make a real headway at the conference, the United States makes attempts to blame others for its own fault.

The statement by the White House alleges, for instance, that the Soviet Union displays unwillingness seriously to conduct the process of working out a draft agreement. It can be recalled, however, that the decision to convocate the Stockholm conference itself was reached precisely due to the persistent efforts of the USSR-led socialist countries in the complex political struggle and contrary to counteraction on the part of the United States and several of its NATO allies.

10 July 1986

The proposals made by the USSR provide for such large-scale measure as the commitment of the states -- participants in the conference, which possess nuclear weapons, not to be the first to use these weapons. The Soviet Union assumed this pledge unilaterally back in 1982.

The Soviet proposals also stipulate concluding a treaty on the non-use of military force and maintaining the relations of peace, cutting down military spending, ridding Europe of chemical arms, setting up non-nuclear zones in various parts of the continent, limiting the scope of military exercises and notifying in advance of large military exercises, troop movements and redeployments.

This combination of meaningful steps of the political and international legal character with military and technical measures would make it possible to ensure the genuine success of the Stockholm conference and build in practice confidence and security in Europe and the world over, which the Washington administration is out to undermine.

#### Positive Results Possible

LD100639 Moscow TASS in English 0635 GMT 10 Jun 86

[Text] Stockholm June 10 TASS -- A regular session of the conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe opens here today. Local observers point out in this connection that the work of this important political forum enters its final stage, which commits its participants to achieve tangible and positive results. This is possible on condition that all partners in the talks are ready to hammer out accords with due regard for the interests of all participating states.

Success in Stockholm is necessary both for scaling down the military danger on the European Continent and for a new all-European meeting in Vienna so that it could make a decision to pass over to the second stage of the conference devoted to problems of disarmament in Europe. This would give a fresh impetus to developing the Helsinki process in all of its aspects.

#### Bulgarian Delegate Criticizes U.S.

LD101330 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 10 Jun 86

[Text] Stockholm June 10 TASS -- By TASS correspondent Nikolay Vukolov:

The Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe resumed its work in the Swedish capital today. Lyuben Gotsev, Bulgaria's deputy foreign minister, addressing the plenary session, stressed that the conference had chances for achieving positive results, despite serious difficulties, before the beginning of an all-European meeting in Vienna next autumn. For that, the United States should stop hampering the course of talks and join the efforts undertaken by the majority of European countries, he said. The Bulgarian representative observed that the socialist countries would act in Stockholm in a constructive spirit and look for justified compromises on the problems that remained unresolved.

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CSO: 5200/1418



## EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

### USSR: WARSAW PACT SESSION APPEALS FOR EUROPEAN ARMS CUTS

#### Gorbachev-Kadar Talks

LD081954 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Jun 86

[Excerpts] A meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP, took place in Budapest today.

The leaders of the two parties informed each other of the course of implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 13th MSZMP Congress, and exchanged views on the state of and prospects for further development of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation, topical matters of world politics and of the international communist and working class movement.

The USSR and Hungary invariably proceed from the assumption that the interests of international peace require energetic coordinated actions by socialist countries in the world arena. They emphasized that the effective activities of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in the present-day situation is an indispensable condition for a major factor in the maintenance of peace and international security. Conviction was expressed that a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries in Budapest will contribute to strengthening the unity of the allied countries and to stimulating their coordinated foreign policy activities in developing a constructive dialogue.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Janos Kadar pointed out that there is no task more topical and urgent now than to preserve peace and to curb the arms race, that of nuclear arms, in the first place, and to prevent its spread to new spheres. Responsible actions and constructive efforts on the part of all countries are essential in the present-day international situation. Concern was expressed over the fact that the international situation remains tense as a result of the actions of U.S. extremist circles and of their allies. Acts of imperialist interference, pressure, and economic discrimination against sovereign countries have become frequent.

The two parties are convinced that only peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems can ensure a safe future for mankind. They consider it inadmissible that the opportunities that opened up after the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva are being missed through the fault of imperialist forces. It was pointed out that it is possible to settle all contentious issues and to improve international relations only in the event of real readiness by the United States to reach agreements.

On behalf of the MSZMP and all Hungarian people, Janos Kadar gave a high appraisal of and expressed support for the Soviet Union's striving for an improvement of the international situation in the world, and its readiness for talks and comprehensive initiatives aimed at ensuring a secure and lasting peace.

The leaders of the CPSU and the MSZMP again pointed out the great importance of the strengthening of peace, peaceful relations, and cooperation in the European Continent. The CPSU highly appreciated the MSZMP's constructive efforts aimed at further developing the Helsinki process.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Janos Kadar stated that the CPSU and the MSZMP would in every way contribute to strengthening internationalist solidarity and equal cooperation among the communist and workers parties in striving for the attainment of common goals, peace, and social progress. They welcome the creative, open, and comradely exchange of views, which serves to strengthen mutual acquaintance with the state of affairs and with each other's work, the search for answers to new questions being put by life, and the strengthening of relations between fraternal parties.

In the interests of peace, better mutual understanding, and joint actions, the CPSU and the MSZMP will continue to cooperate with socialist and social democratic parties, with mass democratic and antiwar movements, with the forces of social and national liberation, and with all currents and organizations that are aware of their responsibility for the cause of peace and peoples' security.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Janos Kadar's conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and in the spirit of friendship that is characteristic of the relations between the two parties, states, and peoples, confirmed full unity on all the matters discussed.

Mikhail Gorbachev invited Janos Kadar to visit the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

#### Gorbachev Speech to Rally

LD091228 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Jun 86

[Speech by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev at a Soviet-Hungarian friendship meeting at Csepel Industrial Center on 9 June--recorded]

[Excerpt] There is yet another side to nuclear safety: the prevention of nuclear terrorism. Instances are known of premeditated damage being done to enterprises of the nuclear industry in the United States and Western Europe, and theft of highly enriched fissionable materials. This is why it is a matter of exceptional importance to work out a reliable system of measures for the prevention of nuclear terrorism in any of its manifestations.

The peaceful atom, just as peaceful space, requires the united efforts of all states in resolving these issues, not in a selected circle, but at a broad international forum with the participation of all interested states.

But this is not the only lesson that we must all learn from accidents in the nuclear power industry, and the accident at Chernobyl. There is absolutely no comparison with the possible consequences of the explosion of even the very smallest nuclear bomb by present standards. There are tens of thousands of nuclear charges accumulated in the world and each of them -- I stress -- just one of them -- would be capable of inflicting a catastrophe of dimensions simply inconceivable. So there you have, comrades, the realities of our nuclear age.

Our approach to international affairs could be expressed in the following way: Nuclear war is intolerable; nuclear weaponry must be destroyed. Using this as a point of departure, the Soviet Union has put forward a program, which can be achieved in practice, for eliminating nuclear weaponry. It is supported by our friends and allies and all sober-minded people. This is why, comrades, we stand so firmly on the issue of nuclear tests. To ban them is to put the first solid barrier on the path of the buildup of mass destruction weaponry. The way in which states regard this problem can serve as a kind of touchstone for testing their policies. Those who strive for eliminating nuclear weaponry call for a ban. Those who cling to such weaponry do everything possible to enable tests to continue.

It will soon be 1 year since the Soviet Union stopped carrying out nuclear explosions. This is testimony to a serious, responsible attitude toward the problems of war and peace. Just look at the United States on the other hand: There, they cannot imagine a day without testing nuclear weapons. They say: In present conditions, it is impossible to either increase or improve the existing potential without them.

Well, it is true that you cannot improve old weapons without new tests; nor can you develop new ones. But this is precisely what we want. The Soviet Union proposes that an end be put to nuclear weapons. That is why we took the risk, for the sake of peace, of extending our unilateral moratorium. The Soviet Union is urging the United States to follow our example and then to come to an agreement on the banning of nuclear tests forever, given comprehensive reliable monitoring of such an agreement.

But judging by all accounts in Washington, they are willing only to risk the fate of mankind for the sake of their own selfish interests. It is an absurd, immoral, and very dangerous policy.

And there is something else I cannot fail to mention here in Budapest -- the situation in Europe. So many nuclear weapons have been amassed here that our densely populated continent has become, literally, the most explosive place on the planet. We have put forward a new plan at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva, the object of which is to rid Europe of Soviet and American medium-range missiles. In all, these amount to several hundred nuclear warheads capable of transforming the soil of Europe into a fiery Gehenna.

A unique opportunity has been provided for blazing the trail of nuclear disarmament in Europe and in the world as a whole.

True, Britain and France also have nuclear weapons. So far, they are not the subject of any talks. Our position is as follows: The main thing is that this potential is not increased if the USSR and the United States destroy their medium-range missiles. But we are willing to go even further, and have already proposed to London that if it gives up nuclear weapons, the USSR will reduce its nuclear means on a commensurate scale.

10 July 1986

Of course, this problem cannot be solved all at once. But it is possible to act gradually, to reach agreement, say, on a reciprocal, step-by-step and equivalent reduction in nuclear potentials on principles of identical security and under reliable monitoring. The Soviet Union is willing to start such talks both with Britain and with France.

We are asked what will happen in the field of nonnuclear weapons, for there are a great many of these in Europe, too, and they themselves represent a formidable danger.

Our countries are in favor of a substantial reduction of conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. They are about to discuss such a program, worked out in detail and calculated for a specific period, at the conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee which opens tomorrow in Budapest. Comrades, we are living through a difficult and complex time, but I say with complete conviction that mankind is capable not only of surviving but also of learning to live in a humane way, that is, in conditions of peace and freedom. But it is necessary to struggle for this, to struggle persistently and together, not only against the threat of war but for the strengthening of international interaction between states for the mastering both of our planet and of space. In the next few days the USSR will put forward at the United Nations a certain proposal which is important in principle. Its essence is simple: to make space an arena of star peace and not an arena of star wars. It is within the power of mankind by means of joint, concerted actions to make a jump forward in the exploration and use of the universe in the interests of our common terrestrial needs. The program is a serious and large-scale one. We propose establishing within the framework of the United Nations a world space organization for its realization. This would meet the interests of all states -- large, medium, and small. The experience accumulated by the socialist countries in Interkosmos testifies that this is precisely the case.

#### USSR's Chervov Comments

LD091954 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 9 Jun 86

[Remarks by Nikolay Chervov, chief of a directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, to Special Correspondent Bohumil Horak, on the importance of the upcoming session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states in Budapest to begin on 10 June; Chervov in Russian fading into Czech translation; date and place not given -- recorded]

[Text] Each session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states is an important international event. At these meetings, the military-political situation is assessed, a unified course of action of the Warsaw Pact is worked out, as well as a unified political, economic, and military strategy. The importance of the coming session is particularly great. In my view, this is a result of several circumstances: This event is preceded by the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Another reason, which in my view increases the importance of the coming session, is the fact that party congresses have been held in the majority of the socialist countries. They were marked by a sincere, critical, and self-critical atmosphere. On the one hand, the congresses showed the unity of socialist countries, their economic growth and political weight and at the same time mentioned some shortcomings in economic development. The influence of these congresses will definitely be felt at the coming session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states.



The main reason, however, that the coming session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states holds such great importance is, in my view, linked with the current situation in the world, with the unprecedented increase in tension in the world caused by U.S. imperialism. It is due to the United States and the NATO countries. After the Geneva meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan, some hope arose that tension would decrease and that the threat of nuclear war would diminish. These hopes, unfortunately, remained unfulfilled and were not implemented thanks to U.S. imperialism.

After the meeting in Geneva, the USSR took all steps to implement everything that was agreed upon there. The entire world knows that on our part it was not only words but concrete deeds. One example is the extension of the nuclear moratorium to 6 August 1986. That is, for a whole year the USSR will not carry out nuclear tests. The USSR also showed restraint in the implementation of its nuclear armament program. It did not increase its military force. All this, however, has not met with a constructive reply on the part of the U.S. Administration. The United States has continued nuclear testing during this period. In fact, they started to violate treaties: They renounced SALT II and SALT I. They violated everything positive that had been accomplished in the seventies when four previous U.S. Administrations had been in power. The United States incites a feverish arms buildup in all directions. They put a brake on the talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva, Stockholm, and in Vienna. In this situation, the attention of the entire world is directed to Budapest, to the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states. It is expected that socialist countries will put forward new peace initiatives.

I would like to say in conclusion that the coming session will be marked by the peace offensive of the Warsaw Pact member-states. I personally do not exclude the possibility that this session could be a prologue to the renovation of detente in Europe and in the whole world.

#### Disarmament Emphasis Highlighted

LD091531 Moscow TASS in English 1506 GMT 9 Jun 86

[Text] Moscow June 9 TASS -- TASS Political News Analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

No task is more urgent and pressing now than that of preserving peace and curbing the arms race, first of all the nuclear arms race, and of preventing it from spreading to new spheres. This idea was particularly emphasized during the June 8 meeting in Budapest between the leaders of two fraternal socialist states -- Mikhail Gorbachev and Janos Kadar.

Commenting on the results of that meeting the mass media in various countries note again and again that the attempts by the imperialist circles of the United States and NATO to militarize outer space and cram near-terrestrial space with space-strike weapons are one of the main obstacles on the road to a nuclear-free world.

And this is really so. Despite the strong condemnation in the whole world, including the United States, of the most dangerous programme of preparations for "star wars" that was devised in Washington, the implementation of this programme continues at an accelerated pace.



It is planned to spend 26 billion dollars on its implementation already in the near future and 60 billion dollars in the ten years from 1984 to 1993.

The powerful military-industrial concerns of the United States and several other NATO countries have been drawn into the fulfilment of the so called Strategic Defense Initiative. In an attempt to conceal the aggressive militaristic essence of this course some people in Washington contend that "the latest research" in the military sphere and first of all the fulfilment of the "star wars" programme will bring about a "breakthrough in technology", including in civilian spheres, and give an impetus to the development of scientific thought.

Washington is stinting no effort trying to persuade its allies that their security will supposedly be enhanced in the event of the fulfilment of the American "star wars" programme. But this is a lie, and a clumsy one at that. It is more than obvious that the creation of most dangerous space armaments within the framework of the SDI would mean that the arms race would acquire unprecedented scope and that the continuation of the process of arms limitation and reduction would become impossible in practical terms.

But can such a development of events strengthen the security of states, and more so of those which are directly participating in the implementation of the SDI. Of course not. On the contrary: the level of their security will decline, and considerably. Moreover, what peaceful future, what security and strategic stability can we talk about at all if the missiles that are already in silos or in the ocean depths are joined by yet another mortal threat to mankind -- this time from outer space?

The Soviet Union, our friends and allies have always resolutely and consistently come out for keeping outer space peaceful and stress that in the nuclear age not only the nuclear duel itself, but already preparations for it, that is the arms race, the striving for military superiority will not give anybody any political gain.

Shortly, as it was stated by Mikhail Gorbachev at the "Csepel" plant in Budapest, the USSR will submit to the United Nations a proposal of fundamental importance: to make outer space an arena of "star peace" and not an arena of "star wars".

It is within the possibilities of mankind to achieve by concerted, joint actions a breakthrough in studying and utilising the universe for the sake of our common terrestrial needs. A serious and large-scale programme.

To implement this programme the USSR suggests the creation of a world space organisation within the framework of the United Nations Organisation. This would be in the interests of all states -- big, medium and small. That this is so is evidenced by experience accumulated by socialist countries in "intercosmos".

### Delegations Detailed

101121 Moscow TASS in English 1105 GMT 10 Jun 86

[Text] Budapest June 10 TASS -- A meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member countries opened in Budapest today.

Taking part in the meeting are the following delegations: of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, led by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of Bulgaria's Council of State; of the Hungarian People's Republic, led by Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), led by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, chairman of the GDR's State Council; of the Polish People's Republic, led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, president of Poland's Council of State; of the Socialist Republic of Romania, led by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania; of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, led by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, led by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, president of Czechoslovakia.

The meeting is being also attended by Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

### Two Sessions Held

LD101717 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT 10 Jun 86

[Text] Budapest June 10 TASS -- A scheduled meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states has opened here today.

The meeting was opened by Janos Kadar, the head of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic. He addressed a short speech of greetings to the meeting.

Two sessions were held, which were chaired in turn by Erich Honecker, the head of the GDR delegation, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, the head of the delegation of the Polish People's Republic. The speakers were Mikhail Gorbachev, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Gustav Husak, Erich Honecker, Nicolae Ceausescu, Todor Zhivkov and Janos Kadar.

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, which is being held in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely business-like cooperation, is examining the situation in Europe and the world as a whole. Main attention is devoted to the urgent tasks of the fight for disarmament, for a restructuring of international relations, strengthening European and general security, developing cooperation among nations.

The participants in the meeting are also discussing topical questions of further strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Warsaw Treaty member-states and broadening their all-round cooperation.

Tomorrow the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee will continue in session.

TV Report

LD101812 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Jun 86

[Report on the 10 June Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference held in Budapest, with video showing Zhivkov, Kadar, Honecker, Jaruzelski, Ceausescu, and Husak and the respective delegations, and the Soviet delegation including Medvedev, Shevardnadze, Gromyko, Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, Sokolov and Kulikov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] A routine conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the participant-states of the Warsaw Pact opened in Budapest today. Also taking part in the conference proceedings are Marshal of the Soviet Union Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact participant-states; and Barity, secretary general of the Political Consultative Committee and deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The conference was opened by Comrade Kadar, who made a brief speech of welcome. Two sessions took place, chaired in turn by Comrade Honecker, the head of the GDR delegation, and Comrade Jaruzelski, the head of the Polish People's Republic delegation. The following spoke: Comrades Gorbachev, Jaruzelski, Husak, Honecker, Ceausescu, Zhivkov, and Kadar.

The conference of the Political Consultative Committee, which is taking place in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely businesslike cooperation is examining the situations in Europe and the world. Most attention is being paid to the struggle for disarmament, the restructuring of international relations, the strengthening of European and universal security, and the development of cooperation among states. Topical matters relating to the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the Warsaw Pact participant-states and the expansion of their all-round cooperation are also being discussed.

The conference of the Political Consultative Committee continues its proceedings tomorrow.

Kadar, Honecker Dinner Speeches

LD102144 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 10 Jun 86

[Text] Budapest, 10 Jun (TASS) -- The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic today gave an official dinner in honor of the participants in the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

Present at the dinner were the delegations: of the Bulgarian People's Republic, led by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic; of the Hungarian People's Republic led by Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP; of the GDR led by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the GDR; of the Polish People's Republic led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic; of the Romanian Socialist Republic led by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Romanian Socialist Republic; of the USSR led by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic led by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR.

Party and state officials of Hungary were present

Janos Kadar spoke at the dinner. He said:

"At our meeting we discuss the most important questions of the situation in Europe and the whole world, and exchange opinions on topical tasks of our struggle for disarmament, for the transformation of international ties, for the consolidation of European and universal security, and for the development of cooperation among states.

"The work carried out today at the meeting shows that we have similar views in the assessment of the fundamental questions of the epoch, and of our common tasks. Being true to the principles stemming from our socialist system, we regard as the main goals the safeguarding of peace and the consolidation of security on new foundations.

"We are firmly convinced that the new initiatives aimed at achieving our main goals are realistic and indicate the acceptable road to the solution of the most important problems facing all of humanity. We believe that our proposals are convincing. In the interest of their implementation we urge all politicians, all parties and organizations of the world, all upright and peaceful people of goodwill to cooperate and rally.

"In the present tense international situation, the Warsaw Treaty member-countries are striving to consolidate peace and security on the European Continent through adopting measures for arms limitation and disarmament. We make new constructive proposals in this sphere. Our conference pays special attention to proposals that are aimed at a further development of the process of security and cooperation in Europe. We are convinced that the Helsinki Final Act remains valid and that it sets an example both to Europe and other regions of the world.

"We are striving to lower the level of military confrontation in Europe. In accordance with the principle of peaceful coexistence, we are prepared for a balanced development of mutually advantageous economic, commercial, scientific, technical, humanitarian, cultural, and other ties. We are guided by the conviction that by rallying all peaceful people and all realistically-minded politicians we shall be able to turn Europe into a continent of peace and security.

"Peace is indivisible in our epoch," Janos Kadar said. "Devastating wars are waged in a number of areas of the world. Peace is threatened. We declare consistently for the elimination of seats of crises, for a just, durable settlement of conflicts through talks. We shall continue doing everything to maintain our defense potential on an appropriate level, to maintain the military-strategic balance that formed historically, and to strengthen friendship and cooperation binding our countries."

Erich Honecker spoke on behalf of delegations of fraternal countries.

"All our countries have outlined vast projects of fruitful construction for the benefit of their peoples for 5 years ahead and the subsequent years," he said.

"It is not the first time that the Warsaw Treaty countries are discussing in this complex and troubled period the question of how the horror of nuclear war can be averted, how the international situation can be changed for the better.

"The answer to that question was given from the rostrum of the 27th CPSU Congress and from the rostrums of the congresses of other fraternal parties."



"It was further elaborated on in a deep analysis, in the constructive proposals that Mikhail Gorbachev advanced at the conference here in Budapest. We again tell the whole world unanimously and loudly: the greater the threat to peace, the stronger our effort to safeguard it. Let the peoples know that the socialist countries can be relied upon. Those who bank on confrontation, on building up nuclear arms, on striving for military superiority jeopardize mankind's very existence. This is why our countries so strongly declare for the policy of reason and realism. They demand a new approach to international relations, for the security of states must now be ensured by political means."

Erich Honecker noted that the Soviet Union's program for the elimination of nuclear, conventional, and chemical weapons, and the joint initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty member-states have the broadest support of the whole world.

"In their efforts toward arms limitation the Warsaw Treaty states do not avoid any type of arms. They declare for a sharp reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces on world and regional scales. We particularly treasure [as received] Europe where the concentration of arms has reached an extremely dangerous level. It is in Europe that the beginning must be made. Though the knot is firmly tied, it can be undone. There is no doubt that the results of our conference will impart more courage and strength to all who declare against the arms race, and against its spread to outer space.

"Our conference consolidates the confidence that the defensive alliance of the Warsaw Treaty meets the high demands of the present international confrontation. The intensity and dynamism of our interaction are growing in all directions. We are justified in saying that a new quality of cooperation is being established. I am convinced that this conference will make a new, weighty contribution to the consolidation of our alliance, to strengthening of unity and cohesion of fraternal countries. This is an earnest of making by joint effort a breakthrough toward the improvement of the international situation, toward durable peace."

On behalf of the delegations of the fraternal countries, Erich Honecker thanked the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic for a cordial reception and hospitality. He wished the people of Socialist Hungary new successes in implementing the tasks set by the 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

The dinner took place in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality.

#### Chervov, Petrovskiy News Conference

LD101920 Budapest MTI in English 1816 GMT 10 Jun 86

[Text] Budapest, June 10 (MTI) -- The Soviet Union is of the opinion that security can be achieved in our nuclear age if it is universal and provides equal security for each state, stressed Vladimir Petrovskiy, Soviet deputy foreign minister, at a press conference in Budapest Wednesday. [as received] The deputy foreign minister and Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, chief of group of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces answered questions on the security conception of the Soviet Union.

Petrovskiy called attention to the fact that the Soviet Union, taking the realities of our age into consideration, holds that national security is inseparable from universal, international security. No state can establish security at the expense of another as the lack of justified feeling of security can lead to dangerous and unconsidered steps.



The deputy foreign minister stated that security cannot be narrowed to political and military fields, but has to cover economy and the entire system of human relations. It is also necessary not only to declare the principles of universal security but also to stipulate them in an agreement and put them into practice.

Colonel General Nikolay Chervov discussed the U.S. security concept. He called attention to the fact that the Washington administration's concept of its attitude to the Soviet Union is based on four basically incorrect theses. As it is convinced that it is capable of surpassing Soviet Union in economy, it makes every effort to increase the arms race hoping that it will thereby exhaust the Soviet economy. Washington is of the opinion that the USA has a ten-year technological advantage over the Soviet Union, and this supposed advantage is used to develop new arms, the implementation of space armament plans, and the gaining of military superiority. The third concept of the U.S. leaders is that they consider the Soviet Union to be interested in concluding disarmament agreements unilaterally. Therefore they try to exert continuous pressure on their partner at arms limitation talks to gain unilateral concession. Finally they think that by isolating the Soviet Union in commerce and economy, they can deprive it of maintaining the technical level of its defence.

The fundamental mistake in these concepts is they do not consider realities, pointed out Chervov. The Soviet Union and the United States are big powers which cannot be forced to accept impossible policy in any field. The two countries can only talk to each other on the basis of equal rights. The sole possible way is negotiation, and arms reduction that leads to the elimination of nuclear weapons and the establishment of the universal security system.

Answering questions Vladimir Petrovskiy discussed the problem of controlling arms limitation agreements. He stressed that the central element of the Soviet stand that has developed over the years, is that there is no possibility for agreement without its reliable control. The issue of control has always been used as a pretext by the United States and its allies at negotiations to reject the control measures when approved by the Soviet Union. This happened with the moratorium of nuclear tests and basically it is the reason for not achieving any advance at the current arms limitation talks, said the Soviet deputy foreign minister.

#### Petrovskiy News Conference

LD111829 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Jun 86

[Correspondent V. Stefanov report from Budapest; from the "Vernya" newscast]

[Text] A press conference was held today at the Budapest International Press Center. It devoted to the results of the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

The attention of those taking part in the press conference was focused the final documents from the meeting and above all the address by the Warsaw Pact states to the NATO member-states and all European countries setting out a program for reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

Answering a question from Soviet television as to the significance of the proposal put forward in Budapest, the USSR deputy foreign minister said:

[Begin recording] [Video shows Petrovskiy speaking at press conference] The significance of the program is manifested in several aspects. First, it is of exceptionally great importance in itself, since it concerns the reduction of conventional armaments, many types of which approach mass destruction weapons in their destructiveness. Second, it is exceptionally important also for the fact that it reinforces the efforts being made to achieve the total elimination everywhere of nuclear weapons. This program is a convincing rebuttal of those arguments that are being made by certain people in the West to the effect that the socialist countries are striving for nuclear disarmament in order to have a preponderance in conventional armaments. As is well known, Europe was at one time the pioneer of detente, and I should like to hope that the voice now to be heard from Budapest concerning a reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces will serve as a signal for the start of a movement to limit armaments in Europe. This is of exceptionally great importance for the European Continent. [end recording]

#### PRAVDA Comments

PM111537 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jun 86 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondents V. Gerasimov and V. Korionov report: "In the Name of Socialism, in the Name of Peace"]

[Excerpts] Budapest, 10 Jun--Intensive work is in progress these days in the Hungarian capital--work to further strengthen socialism's positions and consolidate peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The routine conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee began work here today. The peoples of many parts of the world, above all the European countries, have turned their gaze toward this meeting. Many millions of people know from their own political experience the vital significance for the fate of world peace of the consistent and purposeful activity of the communist and workers' parties, the governments, and peoples of the socialist community countries in averting the threat of war.

In the many conversations that we have had here in Budapest with working people and representatives of the public, we have heard it said many times that the adventurist, egoistic, and short-sighted policy typical of the current Washington administration and its NATO partners is alien to socialism: The antipeople goals of that course were shown with renewed force in particular at the recent NATO Council session. After all, the Atlanticists again devoted their efforts to building up both the "nuclear deterrent forces" and conventional armaments.

We Hungarians, like other peoples of Europe, our interlocutors said, cannot be indifferent to the Pentagon's intentions to begin the large-scale series production of a new type of chemical weapon -- binary munitions -- and to deploy it in Western Europe, primarily the FRG. And that is in addition to the U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles, bombers, and other deadly weapons already filling Western Europe to the brim! The news of the Washington administration's refusal to observe SALT II has been received as an alarm signal here.

The Political Consultative Committee's work in Budapest was at the center of the world public's attention precisely because the Warsaw Pact states are demonstrating once more that they act with a full awareness of their responsibility to all mankind and to history.

There is no time to lose; it is necessary to act vigorously, purposefully, and quickly to halt the slide toward nuclear catastrophe. The peoples have not forgotten that the two world wars erupted in Europe. People can see that a new world war may erupt in that very place where only a very narrow strip of land separates the two largest groupings of arm forces possessing the most modern types of weapons, including conventional armaments which, in terms of their combat characteristics, are already close to the means of mass destruction.

Sensible Europeans rightly believe that Europe, the pioneer of detente, is bound to fulfill another noble mission -- to rebuild detente and to do everything necessary to ensure that another important step forward is taken toward a more stable phase of detente, a mature detente that ensures reliable security for the continent and, thereby, the whole world.

The peoples are confident that the Political Consultative Committee conference in Budapest will put forward the kind of proposals that will meet the vital interests of all mankind. And above all that it will propose a detailed program for talks on one of the most vital questions of our time -- conventional arms reduction.

A "Month of Peace and Friendship" has recently ended in Hungary. Its organizers included committees of the Patriotic People's Front.

"Millions of people in rallies, assemblies, and meetings demonstrated their fervent commitment to the ideas put forward by the socialist community countries in many documents: We are struggling for a world without nuclear, chemical, or bacteriological weapons, and we protest the imperialists; aggravation of military conflicts and intentions to militarize space," Imre Pozsgay, secretary general of the All-Hungary Council of the Patriotic People's Front. Warmly and cordially greeting M.S. Gorbachev, Hungarian Communists thereby pay tribute to the country that put forward a realistic and universally attractive program for gradually freeing the world of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. And at present, when Budapest is hosting the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference, the fraternal allied countries are adding to that program concrete proposals on conventional arms reduction. Now, by acting jointly, it is necessary to strive to ensure that the United States and its NATO allies take specific steps in that direction. "What are you personally doing to strengthen peace?" -- that is the question that we put to people of different professions and ages. Every citizen of the world must be not a passive observer but an active participant in the struggle to establish detente.

#### Warsaw Pact Communique

PM121209 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jun 86 First Edition pp 1, 2

["Communique of the Conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee"--PRAVDA headline; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] The Political Consultative Committee of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance held a meeting in Budapest on 10-11 June.

The meeting was attended by:

From the People's Republic of Bulgaria -- Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria, head of the delegation; Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria; Petr Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and foreign minister of Bulgaria; Milko Balev, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of the BCP Central Committee; Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and minister of people's defense of Bulgaria; Dimitr Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee;

From the Hungarian People's Republic -- Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, head of the delegation; Gyorgy Lazar, member of the Politburo of the MSZMP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary; Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Peter Varkonyi, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and foreign minister of Hungary; Ferenc Karpati, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and defense minister of Hungary;

From the German Democratic Republic -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the State Council of the GDR, head of the delegation; Willi Stoph, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and national defense minister of the GDR; Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee and vice chairman of the State Council of the GDR; Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee and vice chairman of the State Council of the GDR; Oskar Fischer, member of the SED Central Committee and foreign minister of the GDR;

From the Polish People's Republic -- Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and chairman of the State Council of Poland, head of the delegation; Zbigniew Messner, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland; Josef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Marian Orzechowski, alternate member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and foreign minister of Poland; Florian Siwicki, alternate member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and national defense minister of Poland;

From the Socialist Republic of Romania -- Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, head of the delegation; Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and prime minister of the Government of Romania; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and national defense minister of Romania; Ilie Vaduva, member of the RCP Central Committee and foreign minister of Romania; Nicolae Veres, Romania's ambassador to Hungary;

From the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics -- M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, head of the delegation; A.A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR; S.L. Sokolov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of defense of the USSR; V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee;



From the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic -- Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, head of the delegation; Lubomir Strougal, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, chairman of the Government of the CSSR; Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the CSSR; Milan Vlacik, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, minister of national defense of the CSSR.

The work of the meeting was also attended by V.G. Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states and marshal of the Soviet Union, and Niklos Barity, secretary general of the Political Consultative Committee and deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Views were exchanged on the situation in Europe and in the world as a whole; topical tasks of the struggle for disarmament and for restructuring international relations, for strengthening European and universal security, and for the development of cooperation between states were discussed.

#### 1.

The participants in the meeting expressed serious concern over the tense situation in the world caused by the intensification of the arms race, first of all the nuclear arms race, in connection with the actions of the United States and NATO which refuse to embark on the road of curbing the arms race, preventing it from spreading to space, and ending nuclear tests. They are avoiding giving a constructive reply to such a major initiative as the program proposed by the USSR for totally eliminating weapons of mass annihilation by the end of the 20th century. The deployment in Europe of American medium-range missiles is continuing; manifestations of the imperialist policy of force, rude interference in the internal affairs of other states are multiplying. The hopes of the peoples for real steps toward disarmament and a return to detente, generated by the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva and the principled accords reached at it, are yet to be fulfilled.

The world has entered a phase of its development when dodging the solution of the principal questions of our time means to risk the destiny of the entire civilization. In the present conditions, not a single state or group of states can base its own security and well-being on the use of military force to dictate its will to other countries and peoples. Such a policy, whether called "neoglobalism" or something else, has no future. It is baleful to mankind.

It is the principal task of our time to defend peace, stop the arms race, and move on to concrete measures of disarmament, first of all in the nuclear field. It is possible to accomplish this task, to overcome the mounting danger of war, and to bring international relations back into the channel of detente. Mankind can and must block the road to nuclear catastrophe.

The participants in the meeting are firmly convinced that the reliable security of all countries and peoples, peaceful conditions for their development and progress can be ensured only by political means, by the concerted efforts of all countries. This position accords with the realities of the nuclear age and is evidence of a high sense of responsibility for the destiny of their peoples and the whole of mankind.



In the present situation there is no reasonable alternative to the peaceful coexistence of states. Today it is more imperative than ever before to strictly observe the principles of respect of national independence and sovereignty, nonuse of force or the threat of force, inviolability of borders and territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes, noninterference in internal affairs, equality, and other generally recognized standards of international relations.

Reaffirming the topicality of the goals and tasks set out in the statement, dated 23 October 1985, of the Sofia meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, the members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization consider it their duty to press persistently and consistently for the elimination of the nuclear threat, for a turn for the better in European and world affairs, and for the development of fruitful cooperation between countries. The allied socialist states strive to create an all-embracing international security system covering both military and political, and economic and humanitarian fields. The fraternal countries' foreign policy line, expressed in the decisions of the congresses of their leading parties, is aimed at building a world which would be safe for everyone -- a world without weapons and without wars.

The participants in the meeting resolutely come out in favor of carrying on and deepening the political dialogue between countries with different social systems and giving it a highly concrete and productive character. This also applies to a continuation of the summit contacts started in Geneva between the USSR and the United States and to talks, both multilateral and bilateral, between European countries.

The countries represented at the meeting express readiness for the broadest cooperation with other countries with a view to ending the arms race on earth and preventing it in space, to achieving disarmament, and call for pooling efforts first of all in the following directions:

**THE CESSATION OF NUCLEAR TESTS.** This would become a big and easily practicable step toward nuclear disarmament and would become an obstacle to the improvement of nuclear weapons and to the development of new types of nuclear weapons.

A mutual moratorium by the USSR and the United States on nuclear explosions, and the start of talks without delay on a total ban on nuclear tests with the strictest verification are the way to a solution of this problem. The participants in the meeting welcome the new extension of the unilateral moratorium by the Soviet Union and are calling on the United States to join it. At the same time they urge other countries possessing nuclear weapons to discontinue nuclear tests and to act toward reaching agreement as soon as possible on a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests.

**TOTAL LIQUIDATION ON A MUTUAL BASIS OF THE SOVIET AND AMERICAN MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES IN THE EUROPEAN ZONE** on the understanding that Britain and France will not build up their respective nuclear armaments and the United States will not hand over its missiles -- strategic and medium-range -- to other countries. In the event of a total liquidation of American medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet enhanced range operational-tactical missiles will also be removed from the territory of the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

--**ATTAINMENT OF CONCRETE ACCORDS AT THE SOVIET-AMERICAN TALKS ON NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS** that would take into account the interests of both sides and all other states. The Warsaw Treaty member-countries confirm their adherence to the treaties and accords in the field of arms limitation and disarmament and persistently urge the United States to strictly observe the agreements on the limitation of strategic arms.

The program of "star wars," of creating space-strike arms, the drawing into it of other countries and also the development in a number of West European countries of projects like the "European Defense Initiative" are of a dangerous nature. Space should be used for peaceful purposes, for the good of the whole mankind.

--ELIMINATION DURING THIS VERY CENTURY OF SUCH WEAPONS OF MASS ANNIHILATION AS CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND ALSO OF THE INDUSTRIAL BASE FOR THEIR MANUFACTURE. It is a pressing necessity to multiply efforts to ensure a successful completion at the Geneva conference of the talks on the conclusion of an appropriate international convention and to refrain from any actions that would obstruct the total prohibition and liquidation of chemical weapons. The participants in the meeting firmly come out against a further buildup of arsenals of these weapons of mass annihilation and their deployment on the territory of other states and call on the NATO countries to give up the implementation of the plans to produce and deploy in Europe the binary, a particularly dangerous variety of chemical weapon.

--SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS ON THE GLOBAL AND REGIONAL LEVELS. The Warsaw Treaty member-states propose starting such a reduction in Europe where the concentration of troops and armaments has reached a particularly dangerous scale. The meeting adopted an address to the NATO member-countries, and to all European countries with a programme on this matter.

-- EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION IN ALL FIELDS AND AT ALL STAGES OF ARMS REDUCTION AND DISARMAMENT with the use of both national technical means and of international procedures, up to and including on-site inspections. The states represented at the meeting are prepared to reach agreement also on any additional verification measures.

The participating countries confirm their stand in favor of a continuation of efforts on the international scale with the aim of liquidating foreign military bases and withdrawing troops from foreign territories.

Practical steps to reduce armaments and achieve disarmament will make available huge material, financial, and manpower resources for peaceful, creative purposes, including for liquidating economic backwardness in many parts of the world. The participants in the meeting attach much importance to the holding of the international conference on disarmament and development in accordance with the decision of the United Nations.

The disquieting international situation urgently dictates: The existing mechanism of bilateral and multilateral talks on limiting and reducing arms and achieving disarmament should function effectively, and should not be used as a screen to justify the arms race.

#### IV.

The member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization consider it one of the central tasks of their foreign policy to strengthen security and cooperation in Europe. They come out in favor of lowering the military confrontation on the continent, in favor of reducing the military potentials existing here, and in favor of continuous headway toward complete deliverance of the territory of Europe from nuclear and chemical weapons. The strengthening of stability and the building of confidence would be promoted by the establishment of zones free from those types of weapons of mass destruction in the Balkans, in central Europe, in the north, and in other regions of the continent. This is the goal of the proposals which were put forward recently by the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia as well as by Bulgaria and Romania and which are supported by the countries participating in the meeting.

The goals of detente on the continent would be served by reaching mutually acceptable agreements at the Vienna talks on a reduction of the armed forces and armaments in central Europe.

A productive conclusion of the first stage of the Stockholm conference would contribute to building confidence and security in Europe and to creating more favorable conditions for moving on to the considerations of disarmament matters on a European scale.

As long as military groups opposing each other exist in Europe, the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries to conclude a treaty with NATO countries on mutual nonuse of military force and on the maintenance of relations of peace retains all its topicality. Such a treaty would be open to other countries. In the interests of reducing the acuteness of the current situation, the participants in the meeting come out in favor of continuing and developing the dialogue between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO member-countries, including the establishment of direct contacts between the two organizations, with a view to reaching appropriate accords.

In the current international situation, the countries represented at the meeting consider it important that steps be taken with a view to improving the situation in the Mediterranean, to making the region a zone of steady peace, security, good neighborliness, and cooperation. A simultaneous withdrawal of the Navies of the USSR and the United States from the Mediterranean could play a great role in this connection.

Socialist countries attach much importance to the forthcoming Vienna meeting of representatives of the states which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and are ready to make their contribution to further balanced development of the all-European process in all fields of cooperation defined by the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

The establishment of official relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA) and individual CEMA member-countries and the European Economic Community would open up fresh opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation.

Calls for a revision of the borders between European countries and for a change of their sociopolitical systems contradict the building of trust, the strengthening of mutual understanding and good-neighborly relations in Europe. The post-war borders on the continent are inviolable. Respect for the existing territorial-political realities is an indispensable condition for lasting peace in Europe and for normal relations between European countries. The activities of revanchist forces and, first of all, those in the Federal Republic of Germany, and encouragement of revanchism anywhere run counter to the interests of detente, security, and cooperation in Europe, to the spirit and letter of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

Europe is in need of a revival of detente and headway toward its more steady phase. Only along such lines is it possible to ensure reliable security for all European peoples, to overcome the split of the continent and to create a Europe of peace, friendly cooperation, and good-neighborliness. This is a real goal and it can be attained through active joint efforts.

10 July 1986

## V.

The participants in the meeting are for the development of cooperation between all countries in the cause of forming an international regime of safe development of nuclear power engineering, including the creation of a mechanism of prompt warning and supply of information. They declare for enhancing the role of IAEA, the United Nations and of its specialized agencies in this field as well as for convening a special international conference to discuss the entire range of matters connected with this.

The countries represented at the meeting come out in favor of raising contributions by the United Nations and other international organizations to the cause of preserving peace, ending the arms race, and achieving disarmament, and to the solution of all global problems mankind is faced with. They do and will continue to do everything in order for 1986 -- the International Year of Peace -- to be marked by a real turn for the better, for a more secure world.

## VI.

Special attention at the meeting was devoted to matters aimed at strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries and their defensive alliance, and at developing cooperation in all fields. The importance of increasingly active cooperation in international affairs, in the elaboration and translation into life of a coordinated foreign policy course toward ensuring the security of their peoples, removing the threat of nuclear war, achieving disarmament, and strengthening universal peace was emphasized.

The invariable stand of the countries participating of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was emphasized at the same time.

### 'Appeal to NATO, European States'

PM121213 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jun 86 First Edition p 1

["Warsaw Pact Appeal to the NATO States and all European Countries Concerning a Program for Armed Forces and Conventional Arms Reductions in Europe" -- PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Being aware of their responsibility to their peoples and humanity for the destiny of peace in Europe and the whole world and guided by the striving to achieve a radical change for the better in the present complex international situation, the Warsaw Treaty member-states hold that decisive action, concrete measures aimed at ending the arms race, embarking on real disarmament, and removing the war menace are now needed more than ever.

They support the Soviet Union's program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction everywhere before the end of this century. They are convinced that an end to nuclear testing, implementation of nuclear disarmament, prevention of an arms race in space, the banning and elimination of chemical weapons, and other measures for disarmament would lead to the creation of a safer peace for European peoples, for peoples of the whole world.

The allied states declare for a comprehensive approach to the problem of disarmament, for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction to be backed by a substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments. Along with ridding Europe of nuclear weapons, the problem of the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments assumes particular acuteness for the present and future of the European Continent where now the



biggest groups of armed forces equipped with the latest weapons oppose each other. And some systems of conventional armaments are approaching weapons of mass destruction in their operational characteristics. The allied states declare themselves in favor of concrete measures in the sphere of nuclear disarmament, reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments to be accompanied by corresponding lowering of the military expenditures of states.

Guided by these considerations, the Warsaw Treaty member-states put forward to all other European countries, the United States, and Canada these proposals which are a substantial addition to the program for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction.

At the same time they have an independent character and their implementation would lower considerably the level of war danger in Europe.

#### I.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states propose a substantial reduction of all components of the land forces and tactical strike aviation of the European states, as well as of corresponding forces and weapon systems of the United States and Canada deployed in Europe. Operational-tactical nuclear arms with a range of up to 1,000 km should be reduced along with conventional armaments

The entire territory of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, would be the geographical zone for reductions.

It is suggested to implement the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe gradually, according to agreed-upon schedules, and while constantly observing a military balance at lowered levels without the damage to anyone's security. Along with the formations and units reduced, their organic armaments, including nuclear weapons systems, would also be reduced.

A one-time mutual reduction of the numerical strength of the forces of states of the opposing military-political alliances by 100-150,000 troops from each side within 1 or 2 years is proposed as an initial step. The reduction of tactical strike aviation would be of much importance in the framework of this step. Immediately after that, the Warsaw Treaty member-states are prepared to make considerable cutbacks, as a result of which, given the reciprocal readiness of countries of the North Atlantic alliance, the land forces and the tactical strike aviation of both alliances in Europe would be reduced early in the nineties by approximately 25 percent as compared to their present level. This reduction would comprise over half a million people from each side. The armed forces of the opposing groups in Europe would thus be reduced by over a million.

The allied socialist countries declare that the process of reduction of armed forces and armaments of the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries should continue. Substantial reductions of the armed forces and armaments of both alliances would make it possible to involve other European states in that process.

The components of armed forces being reduced are proposed to be disbanded by equivalent integral military formations, units, and subunits along with their organic armaments and military equipment. Their personnel would be demobilized in accordance with the procedures established in each state.



The armaments and equipment subjected to reduction should be either destroyed or consigned to depots on national territory in accordance with agreed-upon procedures. Nuclear charges would be destroyed. Some types of military equipment on arrangement could be put to use for peaceful purposes.

The funds saved as a result of appropriate reductions of armed forces and conventional armaments must not be channeled into the creation of new types of armaments and other military purposes. They must be used for the needs of economic and social development.

All the states, parties to an agreement on armed forces and armaments reduction -- would assume the commitment to keep from increasing their forces and tactical strike aviation beyond the limits of the cutback area.

## II.

It is proposed to work out a procedure for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments under which the process of reduction would lead to the lessening of the danger of a sudden attack and would promote the consolidation of military-strategic stability on the European Continent. For this purpose it is suggested to agree at the very start on a considerable reduction of the tactical strike aviation of both military-political alliances in Europe, and also on the lessening of the concentration of troops along the line of contact of these alliances.

Additional measures capable of enhancing the confidence of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the NATO countries, of all European states, that sudden offensive operations will not be launched against them would also be worked out and implemented for this purpose.

Arrangements are envisaged on restrictions on the holding of large military exercises (as regards their number and scope) and on the exchange of more detailed information about them, and about forces and weapon systems drawn into Europe from other areas for the period of exercises. Envisaged also are other measures that would promote the strengthening of mutual confidence.

Confidence-building and creation of more favorable conditions for the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe would be promoted by the implementation of such measures as creation of zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons in Europe, gradual reduction of the military activity of the two military alliances, and the establishment of cooperation between their participants on questions of arms limitation and disarmament.

## III.

Armed forces and conventional armaments would be reduced under a reliable and effective control with the use of both national technical means and international procedures, including on-site inspections.

Along with measures of verification of the entire process of reduction, it is proposed to establish observation of the military activity of the forces that remain after cutbacks.

Adequate forms of verification of measures for mutual confidence-building, to be implemented in accordance with agreements, would also be used.

To implement control, the sides would exchange, at an agreed-upon moment, data on the total numerical strength of the land forces and tactical strike aviation in the cutback area and, separately, data on that part of them that is to be reduced, and that will remain after the cutbacks, the lists (rosters) of military units that are to be reduced (disbanded), citing their unit designation, numerical strength, deployment, and number of the main agreed-upon types of armaments subject to reduction. There would also be notifications about the beginning and completion of cutbacks.

An international consultative commission with the participation of representatives of the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries, as well as neutral and nonaligned states concerned, and other European states, would be instituted for purposes of control.

On-site verification of the reduction of armed forces, destruction or storage of armaments could be implemented, when needed, with the involvement of representatives of the international consultative commission. Checkpoints staffed by representatives of the international consultative commission could be set up for such control at large railway junctions, at airfields, in ports.

#### IV.

The present proposals for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe could become the subject of concrete discussion at the second stage of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

At the same time, proceeding from the urgent need to take measures for the lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe, the Warsaw Treaty member-states hold that the examination of these proposals could be started without delay. They also deem it possible to convene for the purpose of special forum consisting of European states, the United States and Canada.

They are also prepared to widen the scope of the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe by drawing other European states into them and by changing the mandate of the talks accordingly.

Proclaiming the readiness to use all the possible channels and forums for mutual lowering of the level of military confrontation on a European scale, they at the same time confirm their interest in armaments and armed forces reduction in central Europe and declare again in favor of an effective conclusion of the first stage of the Stockholm conference.

#### V.

The question of military doctrines is of no little importance for assessing the real intentions of the military-political groups and of separate states. It is necessary to remove mutual suspicion and distrust that have been accumulating for years, to analyze thoroughly each other's concern on that matter, too. In the interest of security in Europe and the whole world, the military concepts and doctrines of the military alliances must be based on defensive principles.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states declare with all responsibility that never, under any circumstances, will they launch hostilities against any state, be it in Europe or in another area of the world, unless they become the target of aggression themselves.

The proposals they advance stem from their consistent policy aimed at removing the threat of war, and at creating a stable and secure peace stem from the defensive character of their military doctrine which presupposes the maintenance of the balance of military forces at the lowest possible level, the reduction of military potentials to the limits necessary for defense.

The same peaceful intentions prompt the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member-states for a simultaneous disbandment of both military alliances.

The NATO member-countries also declare the defensive nature of their alliance. It follows from this that there should be no obstacles to mutual considerable reductions of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

In making this address the Warsaw Treaty member-countries do not set any preliminary conditions whatsoever for the commencement of a concrete discussion of the proposals contained in it. They are also prepared to study in a constructive spirit other proposals on this score that could be made by the NATO member-countries, the neutral and nonaligned, and other European states.

[Signed]

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Todor Zhivkov

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party,  
president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

For the Hungarian People's Republic

Janos Kadar

General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party

For the German Democratic Republic

Erich Honecker

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany,  
chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic

For the Polish People's Republic

Wojciech Jaruzelski

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, president  
of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic

For the Socialist Republic of Romania

Nicolae Ceausescu

General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist  
Republic of Romania

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Mikhail Gorbachev

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Gustav Husak

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,  
president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Budapest, 11 June 1986

### Soviet CDE Delegate Explains

LD121940 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Stockholm June 12 TASS -- TASS correspondent Nikolay Vukolov reports:

The Soviet delegation at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe held a press conference here today, devoted to the decisions made by the Budapest conference of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

Oleg Grinevskiy, ambassador at large who heads the Soviet delegation, underlined the importance of the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty member-states to the efforts to achieve disarmament, restructure international relations, enhance European and universal security and develop inter-state cooperation. He noted the role which the Stockholm conference is to play in light of the decisions of the PCC conference as regards facilitating the strengthening of confidence and security in Europe and creation of more auspicious conditions for making progress in elaborating questions of disarmament on the all-European scope.

Numerous representatives of the Swedish and foreign press, radio and television showed great interest in various aspect of the PCC-advanced programme.

### Worldwide Support Seen

LD122251 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1845 GMT 12 Jun 86

[From "The World Today" program presented by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] The Warsaw Pact member-states' appeal to the NATO member states and to all European countries containing a program for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe has created a tremendous impression throughout the whole world.

Today's Japanese ASAHI writes that the Warsaw Pact countries have gone over to a fresh peace offensive by proposing to reduce the forces in Europe by more than 1 million men. THE NEW YORK TIMES emphasizes that the timetable and reduction figures that were made public at the conclusion of the Budapest conference are the latest element in a series of proposals in the field of disarmament that have been put forward by Moscow. The grand scale of this program, the British DAILY MAIL writes, literally stunned NATO representatives. I could go on reading out similar quotations. All of today's international press is literally full of them. However, I think I have quoted a sufficient number of them to give you an idea of the tremendous impression created by the socialist countries' documents that cannot be concealed even by the conservative publications of the Western press, whose pronouncements I have just been citing.

The common conclusions being reached by political observers is that the Soviet Union and its allies have drawn up a specific, large-scale and wholly realistic plan for a major change for the better in the situation in the international arena. In this connection, attention is being drawn to Washington's negative stance. An example of this stance is its refusal to join in the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests.

In this regard many commentators are drawing attention to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement during his speech in Budapest, when the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized that banning nuclear tests means placing the first durable shield in the way of a build-up of mass destruction weapons. Those striving for an elimination of nuclear weapons demand such a ban. Those clinging to such weapons are doing everything possible to see that the tests continue.

#### Moscow TV Comments

OW142150 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 13 Jun 86

[From the "Novosti" newscast; Viktor Konnov commentary]

[Text] [Konnov] Hello comrades: The governments and people of Western Europe now have something to think about. On one hand, from Budapest they have just heard the appeal of the Warsaw Pact states to NATO states and all European countries proposing a program to reduce armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. The scope of this program, as the DAILY MAIL, for example, notes, has literally dumbdounded NATO observers. Reacting with unusual speed to the program, NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington announced that the proposals will be noted and carefully studied. Many West Europeans are attracted by the simplicity and clarity of the program offered in Budapest.

At the same time when from Budapest the voice of peace and goodwill was being heard, from the other side of the ocean the West Europeans heard something quite contrary to this spirit. The U.S. Administration time and time again has attacked SALT II, speaking of it with virtual hatred and demanding that it be scrapped. The U.S. President's decision to abandon SALT II by the end of the year has caused strong panic among U.S. European allies. As ABC's correspondent had to admit, the USSR, and its allies have facilitated the growth in Europe of the certainty that it is the East and not the West which is indeed interested in disarmament. So West Europeans are left to choose only between the disarmament program proposed by the Warsaw Pact and the arms race being offered them from across the ocean.

#### Speakes: U.S. To Analyze Deal

LD141200 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0230 GMT 14 Jun 86

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Nikolay Lutsenko]

[Text] White House spokesman Larry Speakes stated that the administration finds the ideas brought forward to Budapest to be of interest and it intends to analyze specific proposals. He also actively pursued the administration's line for breaking up the arms limitation accord.

In connection with this the magazine NEW REPUBLIC notes: U.S. officials, while rejecting SALT II, at the same time make the appearance of wanting to conclude a new, even better treaty. However, their political past proves that they do not want an agreement in the



area of arms control. However, the U.S. Administration's rejection of one of the most important Soviet-U.S. agreements in the arms control sphere, SALT II, has caused sharp criticism among the U.S. public and the press.

The House of Representative Foreign Affairs Committee, by 29 to 22 votes, voted for adoption of a resolution for the United States to adhere to the quantitative restriction set by SALT II if the Soviet Union does the same.

#### Embassy in U.S. Meets Press

LD152118 Moscow TASS in English 2024 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Text] Washington June 13 TASS -- A press conference was given at the Soviet Embassy in Washington today on the results of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member countries and on the Soviet proposal for broadening international cooperation in the prevention of an arms race in space and in the peaceful uses of outer space.

The attention of those present at the press conference was drawn to the points made and evaluations formulated in the statement of the Soviet Government in connection with the decision of the White House on the fate of the SALT-2 treaty. Detailed answers were given to numerous questions of American journalists on various aspects of Soviet policy.

#### Moscow TV Commentary

LD151857 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 15 Jun 86

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Tomas Kolesnichenko]

[Text] Hello, comrades: The main event of the past week was, of course, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Hungary and the conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. Today there is no authoritative mass information organ in the world that has not commented on the new Soviet peace initiatives and the appeal by the Warsaw Pact member-states to the NATO member-states and to all European countries with a program to reduce armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

What is attention being drawn to, first and foremost? First of all, to the acute need to solve the problems raised in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech in Budapest. The lessons of Chernobyl urgently require the strengthening of international nuclear power safety conditions, and we are proposing a wide program of cooperation. It excludes -- and it is very important to note this -- any attempts to use accidents at nuclear power stations for whipping up tension and distrust in relations between states. There is also the joint creation, within the IAEA framework, of a more reliable new-generation reactor and the rendering of assistance and material aid to the casualties of an accident, and the banning of nuclear terrorism. No less -- or more accurately -- more important is curbing the military atom. Nuclear war must not be allowed; hence the whole set of Soviet initiatives are aimed, in the final reckoning, at the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Once again, our position on banning nuclear tests has been confirmed as the first solid barrier on the path of building up mass-destruction weapons. Particular attention is

also drawn to Europe, our continent, one could even say, our home. It is time to put it in order. After all, it has become the most potentially explosive, in the literal sense of the word, place on the planet as a result of the huge accumulation of nuclear weapons here. On this count there are Soviet proposals to eliminate U.S. and Soviet medium-range weapons. We are also ready to begin talks with Britain and France, and on a specific, mutual staged reduction in nuclear arsenals on the principles of equal safety. The Soviet Union has also put forward at the United Nations a staged program of joint practical measures on the peaceful conquest of space. This "star peace" program is in contrast to the U.S. "star wars" program and the militarization of space.

And what are we to do with conventional weapons? After all, conventional arms, particularly on the scale in which they are sited in Europe, also represent a threatening danger.

A great deal of attention was devoted to precisely this problem at the Political Consultative Committee conference. In the appeal of the Warsaw Pact member-states, a program for reducing conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals has been elaborated in detail. Many commentators emphasize that these proposals are highly specific, are reliable in practice under reliable and effective control, and the important thing is that they are not detrimental to any state's security.

It would seem that this is a precise program. Its fulfillment as a whole is a real opportunity for mankind not only to survive, but also, as was said in Budapest, to learn to live like human beings. One would like them to finally understand this in Washington as well. There, for the time being, they cannot, or rather, they do not want to understand the most important thing: the present international situation requires new thinking, a new approach. Let us take the problem of security, for example. There is not a single international action by the Reagan administration that it does not justify by the aim of strengthening United States security. Not just thousands of millions but millions and millions of dollars have already been sunk into this, and what for? Has the level of U.S. security increased? It turns out that it has not. And now again, Weinberger demands additional resources for weapons, again the Soviet initiatives are being rejected. Where, you will ask, is the logic? The question is a fair one, and it is often asked by the Americans themselves, and by Americans such as former Defense Secretary McNamara, for example. The other day he simply threw his arms up: Why does Reagan refuse to observe SALT II? After all, this step will be seriously detrimental, McNamara said, to U.S. security, first and foremost. Indeed, SALT II limits in particular those weapons systems which, as the United States reckons, primarily threaten its security. Yes, there is no logic, but it is precisely here that the reckless logic of the adherents of the arms race, of those who fight for politics from a position of strength, lies. They think that if more pressure is put on the Soviet Union, if the situation is aggravated even more, we will step back, and go for those agreements they will dictate to us.

It remains only for us to throw our arms up as well. After all, this is absurdity of the highest order. In our time, to build one's security at the expense of other states is a futile pursuit. The Soviet Union, at any rate, will not allow it. This is why an increasing number of people in the world are becoming conscious of the fact that Reagan's politics are reckless, without prospects, and of course, highly dangerous. We are all, as the saying goes, in the same boat. We all have a common enemy -- nuclear war, that is what we should be uniting against, just as we once united against the common enemy of fascism. The memory of that time is sacred, and not just because we remember those who fell and pay tribute to their heroism. There is no future without the past, and that is very important when those who gave their lives in various countries to save the world from the brown plague, that there should be no more destructive world wars, are remembered, as they are being remembered in France, for example.

CPSU Politburo Discussion

LD131837 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Excerpts] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo at a 13 June session discussed the basic indices of the 1986-1990 state plan for the economic and social development of the country, developed in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, whose preparation was concluded in the USSR Council of Ministers.

Having examined a report from the Soviet delegation that took part in the work of the routine conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee that member-states held in Budapest on 10-11 June, the Politburo noted the great importance of collective analysis by the top leaders of the allied countries of the developing international situation. The main reason for tension in this situation is the dangerous foreign policy course, and the imperialist, globalist ambitions of the U.S. Administration, which is unwilling to act in the spirit of the Geneva accords or come to terms with the will of the peoples. In these complicated conditions, the fraternal countries advocate the preservation and deepening of political dialogue. They consider it their duty to persistently continue the search for opportunities to limit arms, to improve the international situation, and for there to be constructive cooperation among states. This principled line is determined by the decisions of the congresses of the ruling parties, which defined realistic paths for building a secure peace.

The conference supported the program put forward by the USSR for the total elimination of mass destruction weapons, the specific steps to end nuclear tests, and the Soviet delegation's position at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons. The program adopted by the political consultative committee for wide-ranging reductions of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe was a new and important contribution to the struggle for ending the arms race. The conference reaffirmed the importance of further strengthening the defensive military-political alliance of the socialist states, and of development of their cooperation in various fields. The importance was noted of more and more energetic cooperation in international affairs and in drafting and implementing a synchronized foreign policy course aimed at ensuring security, eliminating the threat of nuclear war, and strengthening universal peace.

IZVESTIYA Editorial

PM131326 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jun 86 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "To Create a Europe of Peace"]

[Text] Europe... Geographers define it as the part of the world extending from Cape Nordkyn in the north to Cape Tarifa in the south and from Cape Roca in the west to the Polar Urals in the east. Historians call Europe the cradle of modern civilization. Political scientists warn that both world wars began precisely in Europe and that precisely Europe suffered most from them. Finally, grim reality attests that nowhere in the world has the concentration of troops and arms reached such a dangerous scale as on the European Continent.

The Warsaw Pact states Political Consultative Committee conference held in Budapest 10-11 June shows Europe the way to a future without wars or weapons. And not just

Europe but our whole planet and all mankind. The documents adopted at the conference -- the communique and "The Warsaw Pact 'States' Appeal to NATO States and All European Countries with a Program for Reducing Armed Forces and Conventional Arms in Europe" -- indicate the only sensible and only acceptable way for the European peoples' destinies to develop, a way worthy of their past, proceeding from the realities of their present and ensuring their peaceful future -- not the notorious "decline of Europe" but its further ascent toward new heights of civilization.

The conference was convened in an international situation very far removed from the blueiness of the Danube, on whose banks beautiful Budapest lies. This situation is characterized by the tension created as a result of the intensification of the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, in connection with U.S. and NATO actions. The world has entered a phase in its development when evading solving the fundamental questions of the present means gambling with the destiny of all civilization.

In the fact of this threat there is a pressing need to accomplish the cardinal task of our time -- to defend peace, end the arms race, and proceed to specific disarmament measures, above all in the nuclear sphere. There is a pressing need to stop the trend toward the growing danger of war and to return international relations to the course of detente.

Mankind can and must block the road to nuclear disaster. The Budapest conference calls for precisely this in its decisions. It calls for efforts to be pooled, above all, in the following directions: the ending of nuclear tests; the total elimination of Soviet and American medium-range missiles in the European zone on a reciprocal basis; the reaching of specific accords at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms; the elimination of such mass destruction weapons as chemical weapons, as well as the industrial base for their manufacture, before the end of the century; the substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional arms on a global and a regional level; the implementation of effective verification [kontrol]. The states participating in the conference also confirmed their position in favor of continuing efforts on an international scale with a view to liquidating foreign military bases and withdrawing troops from foreign territories.

It is perfectly understandable and natural that the Warsaw Pact states consider the strengthening of security and cooperation in Europe one of the central tasks of their foreign policy. This is why special attention was devoted to this problem at the Budapest forum. The Warsaw Pact states' appeal resounded from that lofty forum throughout Europe -- from the Atlantic to the Urals.

This appeal has gone out not only to Europe but also to the whole world. It at once became the center of close attention for the entire world public.

The appeal supports the program advanced by the Soviet Union for the total elimination of nuclear and other kinds of mass destruction weapons everywhere before the end of this century. The Warsaw Pact advocated a comprehensive approach to the problem of disarmament and the reinforcement of the elimination of mass destruction weapons with a considerable reduction in armed forces and conventional arms. In addition to ridding Europe of nuclear weapons, the problem of reducing armed forces and conventional arms is acquiring special acuteness for the present and the future of the European Continent.



The proposals put forward by the Warsaw Pact members to all other European states, the United States, and Canada are a weighty addition to the program for eliminating mass destruction weapons. At the same time, they are of an independent nature. Their implementation would substantially reduce the level of the danger of war in Europe. The Warsaw Pact states propose, in particular, a substantial reduction in all components of European states' ground forces and tactical strike aircraft, as well as in the corresponding U.S. and Canadian forces and means deployed in Europe. Operational-tactical nuclear arms with a range (operating radius) of up to 1,000 km would also be subject to reduction simultaneously with conventional arms. The geographic zone of reduction is the territory of all of Europe -- from the Atlantic to the Urals. It is also proposed to elaborate a procedure for reducing armed forces and conventional arms under which the reduction process would lead to a lessening of the danger of a sudden attack and help to strengthen military-strategic stability on the European Continent. The implementation of measures such as creating nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones on the continent would help to strengthen confidence and create more favorable conditions for reducing armed forces and arms in Europe.

The proposals advanced in the appeal for reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe could be a subject of specific discussion at the second stage of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. At the same time, proceeding from the urgency of taking measures to lower the level of military confrontation in Europe, the Warsaw Pact states believe that these proposals could start to be examined without delay. To this end they consider it possible to convene a special forum consisting of the European states, the United States, and Canada.

The points in the appeal dealing with the question of military doctrines are of fundamental significance. It is necessary to eliminate the mutual suspicion and mistrust which have accumulated over the years. In the interests of security in Europe and throughout the world, military concepts and the doctrines of military alliances must be based on defensive principles. The Warsaw Pact states declared very responsibly that they will never under any circumstances begin military operations against any state -- whether in Europe or in any other part of the world -- unless they themselves become the object of aggression. The same peaceful intentions also dictate the Warsaw Pact states' proposal for the simultaneous dissolution of both military alliances.

The Budapest appeal expresses in a concise and, at the same time, capacious manner both the essence of the conference held in the Hungarian capital and the essence of the decisions which it adopted. The Budapest appeal resounds over all of Europe and over the whole world, inspiring hope and pointing the way -- hope of peace and the way to achieve it.



LD142127 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1327 GMT 14 Jun 86

[Discussion entitled "Strategy of Realism," chaired by Nikolay Shishlin, with NEPSABADSAG correspondent Peter Dunai, Czechoslovak radio correspondent Stefan Babiak, and ZYCIE WARSZAWY correspondent Andrzej Bajorek]

[Excerpts] [Shishlin] Hello comrades. I would first of all like to present the participants in today's discussion. On my left is Peter Dunai, a correspondent for the Hungarian newspaper NEPSZABADSAG, from the country which, as it happens, played host recently to the participants in the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the participants-states of the Warsaw Pact. On my right is Stefan Babiak, Czechoslovak Radio correspondent in Moscow. And Andrzej Bajorek, who represents the Polish newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY in our country.

As you can naturally guess, our discussion will deal with the results of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the member-states. As a result of the very great collective work done in the Hungarian capital, the socialist countries have, as you know, put forward broad, bold new ideas, aimed at improving the atmosphere not just in Europe but in international relations as a whole. These ideas were set out both in the appeal by the Warsaw Pact member-states to the NATO countries and the European countries, and they were covered in the detailed communique issued on the results of the conference. And it seems to me -- and indeed I would like to know what those present think about it -- that the thought that figured in the appeal of the Warsaw Pact member-states about reducing the military potentials of the sides on the basis of the principle of adequacy for reasonable defense is exceedingly important. This thought is in itself, of course, a fundamental one, and it seems to me that the ideas of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee and the decisions adopted by the conference of the Political Consultative Committee are mediated and dictated by the internal development of the socialist states and the orientation picked by the socialist countries in the context of performing their domestic tasks. And indeed my first question of the participants is precisely this: How in your view do the conclusions of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee relate to the work being done in your countries by the ruling Communist and workers parties and by the peoples of your countries? And perhaps you would like to reply to this question first, Peter?

[Shishlin] Generally one must say, Stefan, that the first responses abroad to the results of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee, including responses from NATO countries, look quite benevolent and it is being said that it is a very interesting idea and a very constructive idea, although of course one will have to wait, but, Andrzej, how are the results of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee being appraised in the light of that enormous work that is conducted by the PZPR in its country, inside the country?

[Bajorek] As you know, Poland is getting ready for the 10th PZPR Congress and from what is characteristic of preparations for this event I would like to draw attention to two elements: the adjustment of the economy in conditions of the economic reform which we are implementing and the progressive normalization of the internal political situation in the country, in other words the growing number of those who actively support the line of the PZPR, the line for the socialist development of the Polish People's Republic.

Of course, it will be easier for us to overcome our difficulties -- they are probably well known to you -- in conditions of peace and cooperation, in conditions of cooperation not only within the framework of the socialist countries, within the framework of our community, but also against an all-European background, and a background, let us say, of world cooperation, which we need very very much so that we can do what we plan.

[Shishlin] This is a very important idea, since indeed all of us perceive peaceful coexistence not merely as an absence of war, because peaceful coexistence also presupposes the arranging of wide peaceful cooperation which strictly is possible only in a climate of confidence in international relations. And from this point of view, it seems to me that the decisions of the Budapest conference of the Political Consultative Committee are of immense significance.

[Bajorek] I could put it as follows. Although, as history shows, we have, let us say, slipped on close cooperation with the West, in these difficult times they have, for example, stopped the delivery of spares and various components to us, and as the plants are already set for operating these processes they needed them very much but this does not mean that this bitter experience should determine the future, because both we and they, presumably, need cooperation like air. Without it you cannot find a place in this world which has now become small.

[Shishlin] That is true. But, of course, having mentioned bitter experience, we are probably thinking not just of the Polish experience but also of our own experience, and of the Hungarian experience, of the Czechoslovak experience, and of the experience of our other friends who, well, our table just is not big enough to seat everyone here today. But presumably, of course, this attempt to break through toward confidence, this attempt to break through to a radical improvement in European relations in international relations as such, done with new energy by the Warsaw Pact member-states, it will certainly get a response.

But I think that the most significant thing in the decisions of the Political Consultative Committee conference consists in the fact that at this complicated, truly important moment in international affairs the socialist countries confirm their faithfulness to those strategic objectives which they placed before themselves: that is, objectives of consolidating peace in Europe and of real cooperation in strengthening international security.

But I would like to be extremely candid and say that, let us say, from our audiences, from Soviet audiences one also sometimes hears questions of this kind: Does not the present situation, when the Soviet Union and other socialist countries put forward proposals and support the ideas of halting nuclear tests, deep cuts in strategic weapons, elimination of nuclear weapons as such, preventing militarization of space and now also deep cuts in conventional weapons, does not this whole strategic line contain within it an element of big risk, considering the deeply negative reaction to the peaceful steps of the socialist countries?

[Babiak] There is probably a certain degree of risk. But I think that we are choosing the only way possible. I would like to illustrate this precisely on the example of the new proposals formulated in the documents of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact member-states in Budapest. At present, as we all know, in Europe there exist two 3-million-military groups equipped with the most up-to-date tanks, planes, missiles and other types of armaments. Such a level of confrontation is dangerous in itself. It invites the danger of sudden turns, incorrect assessment of the other side's

actions, and so on. Naturally, this becomes a source of instability and generates mistrust accompanied by ever growing tension. To reduce the level of conventional armaments on the great territory from the Atlantic to the Urals would be a great step in the interests of normalization on our continent.

[Bajorek] And let us look at the issue from another side. Do you not think that these attempts by the United States to complicate, impede the relations with the socialist countries are taking place right now, at a time when a process of democratization is taking place in all our countries?

After all, the documents of the 27th congress, and the documents of the congresses of your parties, and the pre-congress documents of the Polish United Workers Party, lay down a course toward democracy, toward self-government, and toward meeting people's needs.

[Shishlin] That means, in essence, that the United States is afraid of detente, it is afraid of the peaceful development of the socialist states. I think...

[Bajorek] You [referring to Rabiak] were talking about the risk. And, of course, there is a risk here. But it has to be taken, because you will not get anywhere without it, although we need a clear understanding of the motives of the opposite side. This is very important. And to use a term from football -- after all, the World Cup is currently under way -- I would say that what we are seeing here from the United States and the other Western states is a double deception. Armaments are being built up at an accelerated rate. A graphic example of this is the U.S. retreat from the SALT II treaty. This fast and furious arms race is being forced on everyone, but they say that it is a response to the military strength of the countries of socialism. And secondly, they talk of military force, but what they actually mean is the peaceful development of our countries. You see, I don't think they are afraid of our missiles. They know that we will not start a war.

[Shishlin] That is so, but they are afraid of the missiles all the same.

[Bajorek] They are afraid of the missiles, but, so to speak, feel in their hearts they no doubt do not believe that we will fire on them first.

[Shishlin] Quite so, quite so.

[Bajorek] But they are afraid of our peaceful development. They know about these programs -- the program of the 27th congress. They are well aware of what is happening in the framework of CEMA. And although in various broadcasts and on various airwaves they say that it is unrealistic and ineffective, for them it is a serious problem. They are afraid of the strengthening of our citizens' social well-being, [samochuvstviye] of the example of the socialist countries for the other states of the world, and that is why they are trying, attempting to put a brake on this process.

The first stage of this logic, one might say, was the policy of sanctions. It brought the United States nothing concrete, they did not score any successes. And it now remains for them to accelerate the arms buildup to make us divert a large proportion of our resources to these missiles, to armaments, instead of satisfying the needs of our populations, our peoples.

[Shishlin] I agree with you, Andrzej. But it strikes me that, taken in their entirety, the ideas of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee -- I have in mind

the Budapest conference -- are essentially aimed at overcoming the division of Europe, at overcoming this situation in which two military and political groups confront each other in Europe.

[Bajorek] But is it realistic that this division can be overcome?

[Shishlin] Realistic or not? It is not a simple question, naturally. It seems to me that the stance adopted by our countries is in essence a promising one. We live in a constantly diminishing world, an increasingly crowded and integrally interlinked world. And if the socialist countries have common interests associated with creative work and the consolidation of peace, all Europeans also have a common interest, irrespective of the political systems in power in individual European countries. Well, usually the thinking is that this common interest boils down to survival and only that. I think that a wider common interest exists among Europeans.

[Bajorek] It is a complicated question because for example Western Europe has, I would say, a shortage of political will. It is greatly dependent on the United States and it, one can easily be convinced of this, it takes various steps which perhaps it would not take if it were not for these ties, if it were not for these demands from the transoceanic ally.

[Babiak] I think it very important that these new proposals which resounded in Budapest, or rather, from Budapest, they are not just about questions of limiting weapons in Europe. They have enormous significance precisely for stimulating the development of economic, trade, and scientific and technological ties, and undoubtedly both countries of Eastern Europe and countries of Western Europe are interested in this.

[Bajorek] Yes, we can look in various ways at the realities, at the reality of this course, but all the same we can agree that the element of time is very important here. If this tension continues, it will be more and more difficult for us to overcome this split, because the machinery is turning.

[Shishlin] Naturally we are not building the illusions that the proposals put forward by the socialist countries will be translated into the language of practical agreements literally in a week's time.

But you see, in themselves these conclusions in my view nonetheless testify to a great fund of confidence on the part of our parties and our countries in tomorrow and the day after tomorrow and I think that this fund of confidence is, of course, based to a significant extent not only on the national possibilities of every socialist country but also on those possibilities that are created by our mutual interaction.

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CSO: 5200/1427



RELATED ISSUES

USSR'S GROMYKO MEETS IN KREMLIN WITH BULGARIA'S DZHUROV

Defense Minister on Visit

LD121941 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Today in the Kremlin, Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian minister of national defense, who is in the USSR on a friendly visit.

During the talk, both sides highly assessed the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee meeting that ended in Budapest yesterday. The documents adopted at the conference have confirmed with fresh vigor the fact that the member-states are conscious of their huge responsibility, both to their own peoples and to mankind as a whole, for the fate of peace in Europe and throughout the world. They understand now more than ever before that resolute actions in favor of peace are essential. The aim of all the measures that are being taken on the international arena must be to end the arms race imposed by the imperialist circles, to move toward real disarmament, and to remove the threat of nuclear war.

There was emphasis on the special significance of the appeal by the Warsaw Pact member-states and all European countries with a program to reduce armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. This program is a weighty addition to the program -- historic in its significance -- for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. The implementation of the Warsaw Pact proposal would substantially lower the level of military danger in Europe and improve the international situation as a whole.

Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko emphasized that the Soviet people are engaged in implementing a far-reaching program of peaceful development adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress. Soviet people are filled with the resolve to implement its provisions. With the same resolve the USSR is waging and will continue to wage, together with the other fraternal socialist states, the struggle for disarmament and peace.

All Soviet people express profound satisfaction at the fact, emphasized Comrade Gromyko, that the fraternal Bulgarian people is in one formation with them, because it advocates peace and the peaceful future of mankind equally resolutely.

During the talk, note was made on both sides of the monolithic unity of the CPSU and the BCP and the fruitful nature of the Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation, convincing evidence of which was the friendly visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the People's Republic of Bulgaria in October last year, and his meetings and talks with Todor Zhivkov.



10 July 1986

Comrade Dzhurov said that the People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the USSR's peace proposals and will continue to contribute to strengthening the socialist community's defense capability and to the struggle to lower tension and curb the arms race.

The talk passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and total unity of views on all points discussed.

#### Discusses Defense With Sokolov

LD121504 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Excerpt] A conversation took place today between Marshal of the Soviet Union Sokolov, USSR minister of defense, and Dzhurov. Issues of mutual interest were discussed. Taking part in the conversation, which proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere, were: Marshal of the Soviet Union Akhromeyev, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy minister of defense; Marshal of the Soviet Union Kulikov; Army General Lizichev; USSR deputy ministers of defense, and members of the Bulgarian military delegation.

The guests laid wreaths at the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin wall. A wreath was also laid at the monument to Dimitrov.

A dinner was given in honor of the BPR Minister of national defense.

CSO: 5200/1425

RELATED ISSUES

DOCTORS SYMPOSIUM TO DISCUSS PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR

07101145 Tokyo KY000 In English 0243 CMC 10 Jun 86

[By Rieko Saito]

[Text] Hiroshima, 10 June KY000-Doctors from six countries including the United States and the Soviet Union arrived here Tuesday for a "peace symposium" on prevention of nuclear war. The doctors are members of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, which was established in Geneva in 1950 by concerned physicians across the world. The group won the Nobel Peace Prize last year.

The city of Hiroshima and its peace culture foundation are supporting the symposium, in association with the "international peace year" instituted by the United Nations. Hiroshima Mayor Takeshi Araki will join the seven panelists from the physicians group in the symposium centering on what people can do now to prevent nuclear war.

The panelists, here on a three-day visit, will tour the city's museums and memorials of the 1945 atom-bombing and meet some atom-bomb victims on Wednesday. The symposium will take place at a city hotel on Thursday. Among the panelists are Bernard Lown, professor of cardiology at Harvard University and one of the copresidents of the physicians' group, and Yevgeniy Chazov, director general of the Soviet Cardiological Research Center who is another copresident of the group. There are also panelists from Australia, Sweden, Finland, and Mexico as well as three Japanese physicians from the group's branch in Japan.

The doctors' group has some 14,500 members in 41 countries around the world, according to the symposium's organizers. They have held five international meetings since the group was founded. The panelists for the Hiroshima peace symposium will visit Nagasaki on Friday, site of the world's second atomic attack 41 years ago, to hold another symposium there. They will also visit Tokyo on Saturday.

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HU YAOBANG URGES DISARMAMENT--Paris, June 19 (XINHUA)--Visiting Chinese party leader Hu Yaobang today reiterated that China has consistently stood for a total ban and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and the two superpowers should take the lead in dismantling nuclear arms. Speaking at a press conference jointly held by Hu and French President Francois Mitterrand today, the Chinese party general secretary said that it is natural for the Chinese people to respect the appeal of other regions in the world wanting nuclear free zones. Hu also stressed that since the two superpowers are carrying on a nuclear arms race, it is necessary for other nuclear nations to possess a limited nuclear force for self-defence. French President Mitterrand said France could not reduce its own nuclear force unless the big powers made remarkable progress in disarmament. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1810 GMT 19 Jun 86] /8309

ESTONIAN PEACE MEETING--(ETA) The struggle against the nuclear danger and for the preservation and strengthening of peace are the goal and motivating spirit of our party and state and of our entire people. This was pointed out at a scientific-practical conference "The Soviet People in the Struggle for Peace," which was organized by the Estonian republican Peace Committee and the Estonian SSR Znaniye Society and which was held on 17 April in Tallinn. Academician of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences V. Maayagi, chairman of the board of the Estonian SSR Znaniye Society, opened the conference. The following people spoke: A. Alman, Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau alternate member and Estonian Komsomol Central Committee first secretary; Estonian SSR Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Gren; Major General V. Vare, chief of staff of Estonian SSR Civil Defense; Hero of the Soviet Union E. Pusep, chairman of the Estonian republican Peace Committee; A. Koop, Tartu University rector and deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet; and other conference participants. The activists of the Estonian republican Peace Committee were awarded Certificates of Honor of the Soviet Peace Committee. (Text) (Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 22 Apr 86 p 1)

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